

# The Annals

GENERAL

OF THE

NOV 1921

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF

UNIV. OF WISCONSIN

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

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## Child Welfare

Publication Office  
Stanford Building, 18 Depot Street  
CONCORD, N. H.

Editorial Office  
17th Street and Woodland Avenue  
PHILADELPHIA

Vol. XXVIII

NOVEMBER, 1921

127

# THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

**Membership.** The subscription price of THE ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science is \$5.00 per year. Single copies are sold at \$1.00 each. THE ANNALS are sent to all members of the Academy, \$4.00 (or more) of the annual membership fee of \$5.00 being for a subscription to the publications. The annual membership fee is \$5.00; life membership fee, \$100. Members not only receive all of the regular publications of the Academy, but are also invited to attend and take part in the scientific meetings, and have the privilege of applying to the Editorial Council for information upon current political and social questions.

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Published bi-monthly at Concord, N. H., as required by the Act of August 24, 1912

<p>Name of Stockholder or Owner Editor, Chas. Leonard Kroeber Managing Editor (none) Business Manager (none) Publisher, American Academy of Political and Social Science</p>	<p>Post Office Address 38th Street and Woodland Avenue, West Philadelphia, Pa. 19139 19th Street, Concord, N. H. 38th Street and Woodland Avenue, West Philadelphia, Pa.</p>
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Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities. None.

American Academy of Political and Social Science

CLYDE L. KILPATRICK, Editor

Begin to add collected before the 15th day of September, 1915

G. H. BRYANT, Notary Public

Term expires January 15, 1925.  
Form 358a

Issued Bi-Monthly by the American Academy of Political and Social Science  
Concord, New Hampshire

Editorial Office, 38th Street and Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

Entered as second class matter May 3, 1915, at the post office at Concord, New Hampshire, under the Act of August 24, 1912

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in section 1103 of Act of October 3, 1917, authorized October 26, 1920



# CHILD WELFARE

## The Annals

VOLUME XCVIII

NOVEMBER, 1921

WITH A SUPPLEMENT ON PRESENT DAY SOCIAL  
AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA

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THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE  
39TH STREET AND WOODLAND AVENUE  
PHILADELPHIA  
1921

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#### EUROPEAN AGENTS

ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2 Great Smith St., Westminster, London, S. W.

FRANCE: L. Larose, Rue Soufflot, 22, Paris.

GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 2 Prinz Louis Ferdinandstrasse, Berlin, N. W.

ITALY: Giornale Degli Economisti, via Monte Savello, Palazzo Orsini, Rome.

SPAIN: E. Dossat, 9 Plaza de Santa Ana, Madrid.

# CONTENTS

## CHILD WELFARE

	PAGE
<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	
FOREWORD.....	v
James H. S. Bossard, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania	
STANDARDS OF CHILD WELFARE.....	1
Julia C. Lathrop, Formerly Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor	
<i>PART I—POSITIVE WELFARE FOR ALL CHILDREN</i>	
A. CONSERVATION OF LIFE AND HEALTH OF AMERICAN CHILDHOOD	
FUNDAMENTAL FACTORS IN INFANT MORTALITY.....	9
Richard Arthur Bolt, M.D., Gr.P.H., General Director of the American Child Hygiene Association, Baltimore, Maryland	
COMMUNITY MEASURES TO CONSERVE CHILD LIFE.....	16
Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Director, Children's Bureau, Department of Public Welfare, Pennsylvania	
POSITIVE HEALTH FOR AMERICAN CHILDHOOD.....	27
Harriet L. Leete, R.N., Field Director, American Child Hygiene Association, Baltimore, Maryland	
NUTRITION AS A FACTOR IN PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT.....	34
E. V. McCollum, Ph.D., D.Sc., School of Hygiene and Public Health of the Johns Hopkins University	
MOUTH HYGIENE AND CHILD WELFARE.....	44
Edward T. Hartman, Secretary, The Child Federation, Philadelphia	
B. THE MENTAL HYGIENE MOVEMENT AND CHILD WELFARE	
SOME ASPECTS OF THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF THE CHILD.....	48
Leonard Blumgart, M.D., New York City	
CHILDHOOD: THE GOLDEN PERIOD FOR MENTAL HYGIENE.....	54
William A. White, M.D., Superintendent, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.	
MENTAL HYGIENE PROBLEMS OF NORMAL ADOLESCENCE.....	61
Jessie Taft, Ph.D., Director, Child Study Department, Children's Bureau and Children's Aid Society of Philadelphia	
THE BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF ATYPICAL CHILDREN.....	67
Frederic H. Knight, Ph.D., Superintendent of New England Home for Little Wanderers and Director of Its Department of Child Study	
C. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL AGENCY	
PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN.....	73
Arnold Gesell, Ph.D., M.D., Professor of Child Hygiene, Director of Psycho-Clinic, Yale University	
THE VISITING TEACHER.....	81
Jane F. Culbert, Staff Executive of the Visiting Teacher Staff, Public Education Association, New York City	
THE RELATION OF THE TEACHER AND THE SOCIAL WORKER.....	90
Anna Beach Pratt, Director, the White-Williams Foundation	

**PART II—PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS INVOLVING SPECIAL GROUPS OF CHILDREN**

**A. DEPENDENT CHILDREN**

- AID TO MOTHERS WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN** ..... 97  
 Emma O. Lundberg, Director, Social Service Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

- FOSTER HOME STANDARDS FOR SOCIALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN** 105  
 Mary S. Doran, of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia

- SUPERVISION OF PLACED-OUT CHILDREN** ..... 112  
 Katherine P. Hewins, General Secretary, The Church Home Society, Boston, Massachusetts

**B. CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK**

- SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN HANDICAPPED BY ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH** ..... 120  
 Katharine F. Lenroot, Director, Editorial Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

- WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH GOOD SOCIAL WORK IN THE FIELD OF ILLEGITIMACY?** ..... 129  
 J. Prentice Murphy, Secretary, Seybert Institute

**C. OTHER SPECIAL GROUPS**

- THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WORK FOR CHILD PROTECTION** ..... 135  
 C. C. Carstens, Ph.D., Director of the Child Welfare League of America

- PROBLEMS OF THE COLORED CHILD** ..... 142  
 Eugene Kinkle Jones, Executive Secretary, National Urban League

- HELPING THE FARMER THROUGH HIS CHILDREN** ..... 147  
 Owen R. Lovejoy, LL.D., General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

**PART III—CHILD WELFARE PROGRAMS**

- THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILDREN'S CODE** ..... 154  
 Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., Field Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

- A STATE PROGRAM FOR CHILD WELFARE** ..... 159  
 William Hodson, LL.B., Director, Children's Bureau, State Board of Control, Minnesota

**APPENDIX**

Editor-in-Charge, CLYDE L. KING

- THE STANDARD OF LIVING AMONG ONE HUNDRED NEGRO MIGRANT FAMILIES IN PHILADELPHIA** ..... 169  
 Sadie Tanner Mossell, Ph.D.

- INDEX** ..... 219



## Editorial Foreword

By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD, PH.D.

Assistant Professor in Sociology, University of Pennsylvania

THE child has been called the last serf of civilization. Instead of the earliest objective of the efforts for human betterment, as one might expect because of the fundamental character of the parental instinct—the root of all tenderness—he has been the most recent. For centuries, instinct and reason failed to develop an adequate regard for childhood. From St. Augustine to Jonathan Edwards, the doctrine of child depravity was held and practised, leading to insidious cruelty, or abnormal repression, or indifference at best—this, despite the lofty conceptions of childhood proclaimed by the Great Galilean.<sup>1</sup>

### EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL BETTERMENT MOVEMENT

Each succeeding stage in the evolution of the modern movement for social betterment has carried the emphasis nearer to the inception of life. This may be seen best in a review of its development in England, where it first became an organized movement, definite and self-conscious. Springing out of a new recognition of the eternal worth of individuality, which made its appearance almost co-incidental with modern industry, naturally such a movement concerned itself with the immediate task in hand, which it found in the conditions obtaining in the newly created industrial centers. Thus it began largely as a sanitary effort to clear away the filth in city streets, to look after their lighting, cleaning and polic-

ing, and to create proper drainage systems.<sup>2</sup>

The next step followed speedily as social intelligence appreciated the human problem beyond the processes of sanitation. The era of factory legislation followed. Hours of labor were regulated, especially for women and children; certain dangerous and unhealthy occupations were forbidden; and many similar matters were brought under state inspection.

Valuable as such gains were, they were negative and perhaps, it began to be suspected, too late. A further advance was seen to be necessary. The requirements of the experiment in modern democracy came, too, to emphasize the necessity of an earlier and more positive program. The training and education of future citizens began to be recognized as imperative. The last third of the nineteenth century saw, throughout western civilization, the acceptance of the theory of public education for children. The twentieth century is witnessing the actual application of this theory and the working out of its details and implications.

No sooner were children gathered together in large numbers, at public command and under public auspices, than a host of problems, ever increasing in number and recognized importance, forced themselves upon the social attention, until gradually, out of this consideration of countless children and their needs, there emerged childhood as the chief concern and the main empha-

<sup>1</sup> Arnold and Beatrice Gesell, *The Normal Child and Primary Education*, Ginn and Company, New York, 1912, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1913, p. 4.

sis in the present day social welfare movement. In fact, this emphasis has taken many social students and workers to a point where adults are considered of significance largely as a means to an end. And that end is better, healthier, happier children. The twentieth century is the century of the child.

#### FACTORS IN THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CHILD

Among the factors that have combined to elevate the child to the pedestal of its present importance, two may be considered to be of primary importance. They are the rise of modern humanitarianism and the development of modern science.

1. The Modern Humanitarian Movement. It is impossible, of course, to fix upon any year, epoch or century for the birth of humanitarianism. It is as old as man's inhumanity. There seems to be, however, considerable agreement that humanitarianism has extended greatly in its range during the last century, an extension paralleled, suggestively enough, by a marked increase in human interdependence in the course of social evolution. Witness the decrease in severity in the treatment of criminals, the abolition of human slavery, increased interest in the welfare of the poor, the improved status of women, protection of animals from cruelty—a somewhat arbitrary miscellany of illustrations to be sure. The interesting fact in this connection is not that the modern humanitarian movement should have reacted favorably upon the conditions of childhood, but that such reactions were so slow in making themselves manifest. Societies for the prevention of cruelty to children developed subsequent to, and in many cases quite incidental to, societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals!

2. The Development of Modern Science. More vital than modern

humanitarianism to a true appreciation of the importance of the child has been the development of modern science. The history of science is the story of its progressive application to an ever wider range of phenomena. In time, following its application to the inorganic world, it entered the field of organic activities, not without opposition however, and the biological sciences developed—Zoölogy, Botany, Physiology, Anatomy, Biology and Psychology. The development of the science of Psychology, particularly in its genetic aspects, meant much for a better appreciation and understanding of the importance of childhood, due very largely to the leadership and the influence of G. Stanley Hall, President and Professor in Psychology at Clark University. Still later, as the nineteenth century was drawing to a close, came the application of science to the field of human relationships, and the social sciences appeared to claim membership in the scientific guild.

Social science has brought about a new recognition of the child chiefly as a result of the new ideal in social work which it evolved. Professor Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, writing more than a decade ago, aptly summarized this ideal as well as the background of its development in the following words:

Within ten years a wonderful hopefulness has entered the hearts of social workers. They have not been giving all their time to helping the human wrecks that file in endless procession before them. They have done a little exploring. They have followed up the feeders of this river of human misery, the origin of which has been as much shrouded in darkness as the sources of the Nile. They have located some of the principal springs of evil and, to their wonder, they are not defects of human nature at all but "adverse conditions"—that can be removed. Hence they are beginning to tell us that poverty is as curable as tuberculosis.

They insist that most of the sources of crime can be stopped up. There is growing enthusiasm for constructive policies. One of the great organizations possessed by the new idea has taken as its motto, "Better a fence at the top of the precipice than an ambulance at the bottom."<sup>3</sup>

The development of the ideal of prevention inevitably caused social workers to turn to the child. The "fence at the top of the precipice" must needs be built as early in life as possible. Mangold in his book on child welfare, published seven years ago, emphasizes the significance of this ideal for social work in these words:

In modern social work the emphasis has been shifted from the parent to the child. The fact that this is so is due largely to the belief in the principle, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Not relief but prevention is the slogan of modern social work; not palliatives but fundamental social reforms are demanded today. It is well then to begin with the child, for he presages the coming man. He is the plastic material that can be molded ill or well; he is gigantic in possibilities, but dwarfed if without opportunity. We are beginning to realize that the more time and energy that are spent on the child, the more lasting and profitable is the investment. . . . Childhood is the time of preparation; afterwards little can be accomplished. Let society concentrate more of its energies on the child, instead of scattering them as it does today, and then with an equal expenditure of effort it will accomplish more good than can be realized in any other way.<sup>4</sup>

#### EMERGENCE OF THE PRESENT CHILD WELFARE MOVEMENT

Not only has the emphasis in the social welfare movement been shifting from the parent to the child, but an equally significant change in emphasis

has been taking place in the child caring movement itself. The child *saving* movement of the nineteenth century has been transformed into the child *welfare* movement of the twentieth century.

In a report of the committee of the Division on Children of the National Conference of Social Work, made at the annual meeting at Kansas City in 1918, Mr. Henry Thurston, of the staff of the New York School for Social Work, summarized the important things done for children during the nineteenth century. The report includes: (1) The establishment and maintenance of separate institutions for the care of the separate classes of handicapped children found in mixed almshouses and jails, in inadequate homes and in streets or alleys—examples being found in the establishment of institutions for orphans, for the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the low grade feeble-minded and the epileptic, and in reformatories and industrial schools for delinquents; (2) the substitution, to a slight extent at least, of *placing-out* and *boarding-out* of various groups of handicapped children for the old indenture and apprenticeship systems; (3) the beginnings of separate parts of our present juvenile court system, in the form of probation and the separation of children from adults in courts and jails; (4) the establishment of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children; (5) the beginnings of compulsory school attendance; and (6) the beginnings of child labor legislation.

"In other words," concludes the committee's report, "the public or social work for children for a large part of the nineteenth century was chiefly confined to the separation from the community of class after class of the children who were specially afflicted by some outstanding handicap like

<sup>3</sup> Edward Alsworth Ross, *Latter Day Saints and Sinners*, B. W. Heubusch, New York, 1910, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> George B. Mangold, *Problems of Child Welfare*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914, p. 1.

homelessness, neglect, blindness, deafness, crippled bodies, imbecile minds, delinquency, etc."<sup>5</sup>

Workers engaged with these groups of handicapped children came in time, as did their fellow workers with adults, to an appreciation of the economy of preventive work. This led somewhat naturally to a consideration of the essentials of welfare upon which children of normal opportunity thrive, and this, in turn, to a consideration of such essentials for all children. "This progress has been symbolized by our changing emphasis in the use of terms. *Child Saving* had to yield a large place to *prevention*, and now both *child saving* and *prevention* are giving way to a larger and newer conception of *child welfare*."<sup>6</sup>

Child welfare is coming to comprehend, then, the welfare of all children, whether specially handicapped or not. It means that "there is a child welfare minimum in our democracy that will make that democracy worth saving by insisting that every child must have his full individualized chance."<sup>7</sup> It is this interpretation of the term "child welfare" which was uppermost in the minds of the men and women who participated in the regional conferences held in 1919 under the auspices of the Federal Children's Bureau, and drew up the first national statement of those "irreducible minimum standards for the health, education and work of the American child," which Miss Lathrop, whose name during the years of her tenure as chief of the Federal Children's Bureau came to be synonymous with child welfare in the United States, sets

forth so admirably in the opening contribution to this volume.

It is this meaning of the term which is being written into the children's codes now in process of crystallization in various of our states, for, as Mr. Clopper reminds us: "The real children's code is democratic and recognizes no class distinction."<sup>8</sup>

The first part of this volume is devoted to problems of welfare involving all children—life, health, nutrition, dental hygiene and mental hygiene. Particular attention is called to the articles dealing with the various aspects of the mental hygiene movement in its relation to child welfare, representing, as it does, an emphasis upon one very important aspect of the child welfare movement, largely neglected in former years, but now in process of receiving merited recognition. In connection with the various aspects of child welfare considered, it is to be noted that there is developing a new appreciation of the possibilities of the public school as a social agency. Accordingly, three articles dealing with suggestive aspects of this project have been included.

Part II deals with the more time-worn problems of socially handicapped children. Although the problems presented may be somewhat time-worn, their treatment most assuredly is not. The reader will find much that is new, suggestive and valuable in their discussion by the various experts who have given generously of their time and efforts to make these contributions.

Part III includes two articles devoted to the legal and administrative aspects of the child welfare movement. The first of these articles deals with the development of the children's code, setting forth the progress that has been made thus far in the re-consideration,

<sup>8</sup> Cf. "The Development of the Children's Code" in this volume.

<sup>5</sup> Henry W. Thurston, "Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work," formerly National Conference of Charities and Correction, 45th Annual Meetings, Kansas City, 1918, pp. 48, 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.



revision and coördination of legislation relating to the protection, care and welfare of children, and emphasizing the necessity of the preparation of a state-wide and coördinated program in the interests of our future citizens, such as the term "code" implies. The final article in the volume, by the able secretary of the Minnesota State Child Welfare Commission, presents the status of the child welfare movement in one state which has made noteworthy progress in the creation and application of such a state-wide and coördinated program.

The editor in charge is fully aware of certain gross errors, particularly of omission, in the preparation of the outline of this volume. A discussion of the transition in the modern family and the effects of modern industry upon the home, together with a consideration of their reaction upon the general problem of child welfare, would have been of

value. The omission of the entire subject of recreation as a separate division for discussion is well-nigh unpardonable. Several articles dealing with the problems of the rural child would have been very pertinent. Consideration of the philosophy of the state and its interrelations with child welfare work would have been exceedingly interesting. All of these topics were considered, but various circumstances, spatial and otherwise, combined to make their inclusion inexpedient or impossible. Unfortunately, those articles dealing with the problems of juvenile delinquency, which were scheduled to appear in this volume, were not received in time for publication. Despite these and other shortcomings of editorial architecture, it is hoped that the final result has been a volume not only of interest to the general reader but also, perhaps, of some value to the busy, skilled workers in actual grip with the problems involving the welfare of the child.

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF  
THE  
AMERICAN  
MEDICAL  
ASSOCIATION  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
CHICAGO, ILL.  
1912

## Standards of Child Welfare

By JULIA C. LATHROP

Formerly Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

AS a singular by-product of the Great War it is possible to set forth with some precision the standards of child welfare generally accepted in the United States at the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. This does not mean standards uniformly in operation in the forty-eight states. But it is fair to say that they sum up the judgment of acknowledged students and practical authorities throughout the United States, and that examples exist of states or communities or voluntary organizations which have attained or exceeded any standards set forth in the statement which is the basis of this paper. I refer to the Minimum Standards for Child Welfare adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare in 1919.

In the spring of 1919 a series of conferences on standards of child welfare concluded the popular program of "Children's Year"—that second year after our entrance into the War when many millions of civilians added to all possible service for our soldiers, a further work of patriotism in carrying through a nationally organized plan of demonstrating and publishing the needs and rights of children. "Children's Year" was undertaken by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor by means of an allotment of \$150,000 from the President's War Fund, an allotment which was accompanied by a letter from President Wilson in which he said: "Next to the duty of doing everything possible for the soldiers at the front, there could be, it seems to me, no more patriotic duty

than that of protecting the children, who constitute one-third of our population. . . . I trust . . . that the work may so successfully develop as to set up certain irreducible minimum standards for the health, education, and work of the American child." The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense joined at once with the bureau and set in motion its vast network of agencies throughout Continental United States and the Island Possessions.

### CHILDREN'S YEAR ACTIVITIES AND RESULTS

A series of observances was continued throughout the year beginning April 6, 1918, and the child welfare conferences of May and June, 1919, followed as a conclusion.

The first activity was a weighing and measuring test of children under six years of age. Upon authorized requests of local committees, over 7,000,000 record cards were provided by the bureau, most of which were used. The card showed a scale of height and weight in relation to age and was in two parts, one to be kept by the parents so that they might in each case preserve a record of the child's relation to the normal standard. In certain communities the testing was done with scientific precision and the records gave new and valuable data regarding weight and height of children according to nationality of parents, geographical location and other conditions. From the forms returned to the Children's Bureau, records of 167,024 white children were selected with the

advice of consulting authorities on pediatrics, anthropology and statistics, and new tables of stature and weight of boys and girls by month of age up to six years have been prepared and published in a report including other significant data derived from the record cards.

Many children, also, received complete physical examinations by competent physicians, and unsuspected defects were discovered and corrected. But whether the child was weighed on the farm scales by his own parents who themselves sent to the bureau for a record form, or was carefully examined by a distinguished pediatricist who gave his services to the cause, each child's record was an unforgettable object lesson to all the surrounding adults, showing a definite relation between age and normal growth, and warning that marked divergence calls for attention.

Further results of this activity have been the addition of child hygiene divisions to state health departments in a largely increased number of states, a marked nation-wide increase in the development of local child-health centers, and the growing unsatisfied demand for trained public health nurses for rural as well as urban areas. Although not an outgrowth of Children's Year, the effort to develop and standardize the training of public health nurses is of great importance to the effectiveness of child hygiene standards, and the study of nurses' training schools now under way by the Rockefeller Foundation is pertinent to this discussion. It will undoubtedly aid in standardizing the training of public health nurses and will tend to improve the efficiency of all child-health agencies.

I have dwelt upon the Children's Year activity for infants and young children because its standardizing effect was obvious and its reach far wider than that of the other activities of the

year. It is to be regretted that funds were not available to develop demonstrations for all the groups of children with the same individual attention given those under six.

A recreation program was also carried out, with special reference to rural children. In this the Playground and Recreation Association of America and the club and demonstration directors of the Department of Agriculture gave much help and an admirable pageant was written for the program by the Drama League of America. The influence of the recreation drive was widespread. It emphasized the importance of vigorous, active sports, team play whether in dramatic production or on the athletic field, well-equipped playgrounds in rural centers and in connection with rural schools, and the aid to health afforded by athletic play properly supervised.

The year concluded with a Back-To-School drive which was especially needed because the high pay in war industries had drawn many children from school. The value of schooling, at least to the age of sixteen, as a fairly certain guarantee of better earning power throughout life, was shown in popular addresses, in a series of printed statements widely distributed and by the work of local committees in coöperation with school authorities. In localities where visits were made to absentees under sixteen with the purpose of discovering if they could return to school, a largely increased attendance, especially in the higher grammar and high school grades, was reported.

#### CONFERENCES ON CHILD WELFARE STANDARDS

Fragmentary as the year's activities, of necessity, were, they reached out over the country to a degree entirely new and indeed unexpected, and greatly strengthened a nation-wide un-



derstanding of the importance of child welfare as a national issue. It was, therefore, natural to conclude the year by a summing up of national opinion on standards of child welfare, in accordance with President Wilson's letter.

Because of the crowded living conditions due to the War the calling of large assemblies in Washington was not permitted. Hence, a small meeting of specialists in Washington was followed by a series of regional conferences. This, in fact, was an advantage, since the regional conferences extending from Boston to San Francisco resulted in wide discussion and valuable criticism of the standards tentatively submitted at the Capital. A special committee of five met later in Washington to consider all suggestions and the standards were published as approved by this committee. All the meetings of the successive conferences were given great inspiration by the presence and counsel of authorities on child welfare from the countries of our principal allies who came as guests of the government. Under unspeakable war hardships, these men and women had devoted themselves to the protection of the young of their nations and had demonstrated the effectiveness of intelligent care in saving life and protecting children as far as possible from the effects of war. Their influence could not fail to emphasize the public responsibility of any modern nation for child welfare standards.<sup>1</sup>

In the final report of the conferences, the standards are set forth under three heads:

Public protection of the health of mothers and children;

Children entering employment;  
Children in need of special care.

#### PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

The conditions stated as essential to the protection of maternity, infancy and childhood are as follows:

*First*, as to maternity:

Maternity or prenatal centers sufficient to provide for all cases not receiving prenatal supervision from private physicians; the work of such centers to include adequate medical examination, instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy, adequate instruction and care in the home afforded by visiting public-health nurses and adequate medical and nursing care at confinement, whether in the home or in the hospital, with sufficient household service for four or six weeks to allow the mother to recuperate.

Clinics for needed treatment during pregnancy.

Hospitals sufficient to provide for all complicated cases and for all women wishing hospital care; free or part-payment obstetrical care in every necessitous case.

Licensing and supervision of all midwives.

Adequate income to allow the mother to remain in the home through the nursing period.

Education of the general public as to the problems presented by maternal and infant mortality and their solution.

*Second*, as to infants and pre-school age children:

Complete birth registration.

Prevention of infantile blindness.

Children's health centers to give health instruction, under medical supervision, for the care of all infants and children not under care of a private physician, including instruction in breast feeding and in all matters of

<sup>1</sup> Printed copies of the Minimum Standards for Child Welfare and a limited number of copies of the proceedings of the 1919 conferences are available for free distribution upon application to the Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington.

home care and hygiene of infancy and childhood, and to provide or to coöperate with sufficient numbers of public-health nurses to make home visits to all infants and children of pre-school age needing care.

Dental and other clinics.

Children's hospitals or hospital beds and provision for medical and nursing care at home sufficient to care for all sick infants and young children.

State licensing and supervision of all child-caring institutions in which infants or young children are cared for.

General educational work in prevention of communicable disease and in hygiene and feeding of infants and young children.

*Third, as to school children:*

Proper location, construction, hygiene, ventilation and sanitation of school house; no over-crowding.

Adequate playground and recreational facilities, physical training and supervised recreation.

Adequate medical and nursing school service; full-time school nurse to give instruction in personal hygiene and diet, to make home visits, advising and instructing mothers in principles of hygiene, and to take children to clinics with permission of parents.

Complete standardized basic physical examination by physicians once a year, with determination of weight and height at beginning and end of each school year; monthly weighing wherever possible.

Continuous health record for each child to be kept on file with other records of pupil; this should be a continuation of the pre-school health record which should accompany the child to school.

Supervision to control communicable disease, available clinics for dentistry, nose, throat, eye, ear, skin and orthopedic work, and free vaccination against smallpox.

Open-air classes with rest periods and supplementary feedings for pre-tuberculous and certain tuberculous children and children with grave malnutrition; nutrition classes; examinations by specialist of retarded or atypical children.

Education of the school child in health habits, including hygiene and care of young children.

General educational work in health and hygiene, including education of parent and teacher to secure full coöperation in health program.

*Fourth, as to adolescent children:*

Complete standardized basic physical examination by physician, including weight and height, at least once a year, and recommendations for treatment if needed.

Clinics for treatment of defect and disease.

Supervision and instruction to insure ample diet, with special attention to growth-producing foods; sufficient sleep, rest, and fresh air; adequate and suitable clothing; proper exercise for physical development; knowledge of sex hygiene and reproduction.

Full-time, compulsory education to at least sixteen years of age, adapted to meet the needs and interest of the adolescent mind, with vocational guidance and training.

Clean, ample recreational opportunities to meet social needs, with supervision of commercial amusements.

Legal protection from exploitation, vice, drug habits, etc.

Thus far, the standards are those of medical and health authorities who approach the problem of safeguarding childhood on the health side, and the full statement strongly emphasizes the necessity for the education of the general public, of parent and teacher, and of the adolescent child in those matters which he is by that time considering for himself. A decent home and decent

income are plainly assumed as basic to effective health protection.

#### STANDARDS FOR CHILDREN ENTERING EMPLOYMENT

The Minimum Standards for Children Entering Employment require an age minimum of 16 for employment in any occupation, save that children between 14 and 16 may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods.

The educational minimum would require all children between 7 and 16 years of age to attend school for at least nine months each year, continuation schools to be provided for all between 16 and 18 who are regularly and legally employed and who have not completed the high-school grade, and vacation schools to be provided for all.

The physical minimum would require: That a child shall not go to work until a physical examination by an authorized medical officer has shown him to be of normal development for his age and physically fit for the work he is to perform.

It is further recommended:

That all working children under the age of 18 years have an annual physical examination.

That hours of employment be not more than eight hours a day or forty-four hours a week for all minors.

That the hours spent at continuation schools by children under 18 years of age be counted as part of the working day.

That night work for minors be prohibited between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m.

That employment certificates be issued to all entering employment who are under 18 years of age, the issuance to be under state supervision and only after the issuing officer has received and filed satisfactory evidence of age, physical fitness, completion of eighth

grade of school and promise of employment.

The laws of no state have yet embraced all the standards here set forth; the extent to which they are approximated is indicated by the following statement of general requirements in force January 1, 1921 (some of which are subject to qualification and exemption):

Seven states have an age minimum of 15 years or over; 29 provide an eight-hour day for children under 16, and 41 prohibit their work at night (the eight-hour day and the night-work provisions are also found in the Federal child labor tax law); all states have compulsory school attendance laws, effective to varying ages; 22 states have continuation school laws containing compulsory provisions; 19 require every child applying for a regular employment certificate to be examined by a physician.

As a result of action taken during the child welfare conferences, a committee of eleven physicians was appointed by the Children's Bureau to formulate definite standards of normal development and sound health, for the use of physicians in examining children applying for work permits. The preliminary report of this committee has been published by the bureau; it contains general recommendations, detailed minimum standards of physical fitness, and a discussion of methods to be employed in making physical examinations.

#### STANDARDS RELATING TO CHILDREN IN NEED OF SPECIAL CARE

These standards begin by affirming, in all essentials, the conclusions of the White House Conference of 1909 on the care of dependent children.<sup>2</sup> Then fol-

<sup>2</sup> The first instance of a Presidential conference on child welfare was that called by President Roosevelt in 1909 to consider a single phase of

lows a statement from which the following paragraphs are quoted:

The fundamental rights of childhood are normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physical development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded.

Upon the state devolves the ultimate responsibility for children who are in need of special care by reason of unfortunate home conditions, physical or mental handicap, or delinquency. Particular legislation is required to insure for such children the nearest possible approach to normal development.

Home life which is, in the words of the conclusions of the White House Conference, "the highest and finest product of civilization," cannot be provided except upon the basis of an adequate income for each family.

The policy of assistance to mothers who are competent to care for their own children is now well established. It is generally recognized that the amount provided should be sufficient to enable the mother to maintain her children suitably in her own home, without resorting to such outside employment as will necessitate leaving her children without proper care and oversight; but in many states the allowances are still entirely inadequate to secure this result under present living costs. The amount required can be determined only by careful and competent case study, which must be renewed from time to time to meet changing conditions.

The statement emphasizes the importance of a responsible state supervising body to inspect and license every institution, agency or association which receives or cares for mothers with children, or children who are delinquent, dependent or without suitable parental

care—with authority to revoke licenses for cause and to prescribe forms of registration and report. The state agency should further maintain such visiting of children in institutions or placed in family homes as will insure their proper care, training and protection.

No child should be permanently removed from his own home unless it is impossible to make the home safe for the child or his continuance in the home safe for the community.

The aim of all provision for children who must be removed from their own homes should be to secure for each child, home life as nearly normal as possible. "To a much larger degree than at present, family homes may be used to advantage in the care of such children."

The principles which should govern all placing of children in foster homes and the supervision of children placed in institutions are given in considerable detail.

Modern principles for the care of illegitimate children are stated with the special attention which is needed if the handicaps of children born out of wedlock are in any degree to be counterbalanced. A series of special conferences on the legal protection of illegitimate children, held in 1920, resulted in the adoption of certain conclusions, most of which have since been embodied in the draft of a model law prepared by a committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

The care of physically and mentally defective children is discussed with two guiding principles: First, unceasing study of the children themselves, their environment and background; second, the greatest practicable degree of individual development and freedom compatible with safety for the child and for the community.

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the subject—the care of dependent children. This is known as the White House Conference, and the permanent value of its formulations is unquestioned.



Perhaps at no point do the standards indicate a more truly scientific advance in method than in considering feeble-minded children. Although recognizing the necessity of adequate institutional provision for the feeble-minded, differentiation of treatment based on intensive study of individuals and types is also advised.

Although the principle of the juvenile court is accepted throughout the country, the standards require conditions some of which may be found in most courts, though, unfortunately, few courts will be found in which all are observed: *i.e.*, separate hearings of children's cases, special detention apart from adults, adequate investigation for every case, provision for physical and mental examinations, trained probation officers, women officers for girls' cases, the recording and filing of social as well as legal information, procedure under chancery jurisdiction and juvenile records not to stand as criminal records. Wherever possible, administrative duties, such as child-placing and relief, should not be required of juvenile courts. Adult sex offenders against children should be dealt with in juvenile courts to the end that victims may be spared "publicity and further corruption." Following a juvenile court conference held in June, 1921, under the auspices of the Children's Bureau and the National Probation Association, a committee has been appointed by the bureau to consider standards of juvenile court organization and procedure.

The application of all the above standards to rural children in need of special care is pointed out, as well as the need for increased social service in rural areas, and the statement closes with the following appeal for scientific method:

There is urgent need of a more adequate body of scientific literature dealing with

principles and practice in the children's field of social work, and the meeting of this need is a responsibility resting on those so engaged. Careful interpretation and analysis of methods and results of care and the publishing of these findings must precede the correcting of many present evils in practice. Boards of directors, trustees, and managers should particularly consider participation in the preparation of such a body of facts and experience as being a vital part of the work of their staff members.

#### THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO CHILD WELFARE

At the end of the whole statement of standards are placed three paragraphs which indicate the spirit in which they were framed and the recognition of constant study and research as the only method of making experience fruitful:

##### Economic and social standards.

At the general session of the Washington conference the economic and social aspects of child welfare standards were discussed. While detailed standards were not formulated in this wide field, it was recognized that an adequate wage for the father, wholesome and pleasant housing and living conditions, and the abolition of racial discrimination are fundamental to the realization of any child welfare program.

##### Recreation.

The desire for recreation and amusement is a normal expression of every child, which must be considered in any program for the physical and moral education of children. Parents and others charged with their care should be educated as to the importance of recreation. Public provision should be made for wholesome play and recreation, both indoor and outdoor, under trained leadership, and especially adapted to the different age periods of the child.

Commercialized amusements should be safeguarded by official supervisors having a scientific knowledge of recreation.

##### Child welfare legislation.

The child welfare legislation of every state requires careful reconsideration as a

whole at reasonable intervals, in order that necessary revision and coördination may be made and that new provisions may be incorporated in harmony with the best experience of the day. In states where children's laws have not had careful revision as a whole within recent years, a child welfare committee or commission should be created for this purpose. Laws enacted by the several states should be in line with national ideals and uniform so far as desirable in view of diverse conditions in the several states.

Child welfare legislation should be framed by those who are thoroughly familiar with the conditions and needs of children and with administrative difficulties. It should be drafted by a competent lawyer in such form as to accomplish the end desired by child welfare experts and at the same time be consistent with existing laws.

It must be recognized that in our day no complete child welfare standards will be written; they must be subject to review and alteration according to the discoveries of physical and social science. These standards are incomplete, uneven and in some respects superficial, bearing witness to our fragmentary knowledge of child welfare and our imperfect view of the essentials of sound society. But they are invaluable because they are the first nationwide attempt to deal with the welfare of all children as a single problem in the social field, requiring in its working-out, the coördinated efforts of physicians, teachers, students of many sciences and practical social workers.

The committees who prepared the standards have reiterated under the different headings the necessity for a scientific approach to every problem of child welfare, whether of universal or special application. Indeed, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that adequate support of research in the various interwoven problems of child welfare would prove of immediate

practical value to general social progress in our country. Without constant observation of actual experience reported intelligibly to the public we must continue to waste life, vigor and money to an unnecessary degree. Lavish gifts and bequests to answer imaginary needs will continue, and money will be withheld where it should be expended.

However, encouraging proofs are to be seen of the growth of the method of scientific research in the child welfare field. None is more significant than the comparatively recent interest in the study of child welfare legislation in the states. Twenty-four states and the District of Columbia, by special commissions, have reviewed or are now reviewing their laws, comparing them with those of other states, studying the existing needs of children in their own states, and formulating coherent programs to meet their legislative problems of child welfare; the advance in wise legislation is already marked. Plainly the task begun by such commissions cannot end. Laws once secured must be watched in operation and amended, repealed, superseded, as experience indicates. Another encouraging sign is the present tendency to discuss special problems through nationally representative scientific committees and to publish results or conclusions which may serve as a basis for needed legislation, or for voluntary activity, or as a contribution toward the solution of a baffling problem.

This scientific method is slow but it is also revolutionary. It ends the easy indifference of the fatalist; it destroys the respectability of giving money without knowing life. It invites the indispensable service of able and highly-trained students to examine and standardize progressively the child welfare aspects of applied social science,

# Fundamental Factors in Infant Mortality

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**I**NFANT mortality has come to mean infinitely more than the deaths of so many babies under one year of age. It is true that the infant mortality rate is most conveniently expressed as the number of deaths under one year of age per one thousand live births during the year under consideration, but its factors are diverse and permeate the basic strata of our social structure. Infant mortality must now be looked upon as a socio-economic complex whose finer ramifications can be traced to hereditary, congenital, neonatal and environmental roots. It reveals not only the sanitary status of a community, but its social, economic and moral aspects as well. It has, therefore, to be regarded as the most sensitive index we have of social and sanitary progress. Its marked reduction during the past decade is one of the outstanding phenomena of the new public health movement and a prime factor in lowering the general death rate.

## INFANT MORTALITY CONTROLLABLE

From the humanitarian standpoint, the study and prevention of infant mortality has drawn the attention of philanthropic individuals for many years. It is only since the opening of the twentieth century, however, that a scientific study of the causes and results of infant mortality has been made and the findings applied to public health. The experience gained thus far in practical methods of community sanitation and infant hygiene has brought home convincing proof that the main factors entering into the mor-

talities of infancy can largely be controlled and the infant mortality rate considerably reduced. We can no longer defend ourselves behind the mediaeval fallacy that God sets the infant mortality rate.

In giving consideration to the fundamental factors which enter into the mortalities of infancy we soon discover that a number of the unfavorable conditions which determine a high infant mortality are also detrimental to life at all ages, although acting with diminishing force as age advances. Improvements in sanitation and hygiene, better social and economic circumstances and more intelligent understanding of mothers in the care of their babies, have had a decided effect in creating more wholesome conditions under which the older children may be reared. Future offspring are thus assured a better chance of surviving. Thus infant mortality is at once a reflection upon the past and a prophecy of the future.

## INFANT MORTALITY AND PRE-SCHOOL YEARS

In seeking to prevent infant mortality we are laying the foundation for a healthier and more resistant childhood. Our statistical studies have progressed far enough to indicate that there is a high correlation between infant mortality and of mortality at ages from one to five years. It has been shown by Sir Arthur Newsholme in England and by Dr. S. Josephine Baker in New York City, that a high infant mortality rate goes hand in hand with a high death rate at ages one to five, and, conversely,

that when the infant mortality rate is reduced the rate at higher ages also comes down.

We must not overlook the additional fact that an excessive infant mortality predisposes those who survive to more damage than is the case with a low mortality. While it is recognized that the mortality in the years following infancy is surprisingly low, it is not so generally realized that the damage rate during those years is exceedingly high. In the pre-school period the child acquires most of the defects which are discovered later at school, and from which he suffers more or less throughout his entire life. The paramount importance of the pre-school years in determining the health-destiny of the child is just beginning to be recognized, and for these we must make as ample provisions as we have for the baby in arms.

#### REDUCTION OF MORTALITY DURING FIRST YEAR

The reduction of infant mortality thus far effected has taken place largely in the latter half of the first year of life. This has been brought about mainly by a reduction of the deaths from gastro-intestinal diseases, the result of greater insistence upon breast feeding, better milk and more intelligent modification of milk under the direction of physicians, and supervision and instruction of the nurses in the homes. Infant welfare centers and general campaigns of education have also played a large part.

#### NEONATAL DEATHS PREVENTABLE

With all this intensive effort in infant hygiene, very little if any progress has been made, outside of a few centers where special prenatal work has been carried on, in limiting deaths in the neonatal period. In this country upwards of 40 per cent of the deaths during the first year of life occur in the

first month. In some places it reaches as high as 50 per cent and above. It is conservatively estimated that 40 per cent of the neonatal deaths could have been prevented by proper prenatal and obstetrical care. The intensive prenatal services which have been organized in New York City, Boston and other cities in this country give promise of what we may hope to accomplish on a broader scale when the Federal Government and the states assume their full responsibility for the protection of maternity and infancy.

#### MATERNAL MORTALITY SHOCKING

The maternal mortality in this country is still shockingly high, and has been advancing to an alarming extent in recent years. The maternal mortality rates in the United States are uniformly higher than those in a number of foreign countries. This evidently is one of the factors which must be considered in any infant mortality study. The number of stillbirths and abortions, accidental and induced, are also abnormally high. While general sanitation and infant hygiene have had a marked effect in reducing infant mortality in the sixth, seventh and eighth months of life, they have scarcely made a dent upon the birth mortalities and apparently have not influenced in the least the number of stillbirths and abortions. For any further considerable reduction in infant mortality we must look to well organized prenatal and obstetrical service made available to every mother. In this the Federal Government and the states must coöperate with the local health authorities and voluntary organizations.

#### VARIABILITY OF INFANT MORTALITY

The most outstanding feature of infant mortality is its variability. It exhibits marked geographical, social, racial and seasonal fluctuations. The



infant mortality rate not only differs markedly throughout the same country, but in neighboring cities and even adjacent wards of the same city. From month to month it shows interesting variations, and year after year may exhibit changes which are difficult to explain.

To gain any fair estimate of the trend of infant mortality, then, we must study it under varying conditions over a series of years. The factors entering into it are so complex and interdependent that no one formula can be applied for its complete solution. Each factor must be separately weighed and its proper relation to others determined. From such study intensive methods may be evolved to reduce the mortality factor by factor until the lowest possible denominator is reached. At the same time we should never lose sight of the fact that infant hygiene is an integral part of preventive medicine. General public health measures may have considerable bearing upon the reduction of infant mortality.

#### DIRECT CAUSES OF INFANT MORTALITY

In considering the fundamental factors in infant mortality it will be convenient to think of them as both direct and contributing. In this brief summary it will not be possible to go into a statistical study of these factors to show their exact or relative importance. They will, therefore, be given in a broad classification only.

The direct causes of infant mortality may be grouped as follows:

##### *Prenatal, Natal, and Neonatal.*

Congenital defects. Malformations.

Congenital diseases (infectious diseases acquired from the mother, syphilis being the most important).

Prematurity (often due to congenital syphilis).

Indefinite causes listed as "atrophy," "congenital debility," "marasmus"

and "inanition," very often due to syphilis.

Atelectasis, Asphyxia ("cyanosis").

Diseases of the mother. Diseases of the heart, kidneys or lungs; the acute infectious diseases. Alcoholism, lead poisoning and malaria. The toxæmias of pregnancy resulting in eclampsia may cause premature death of the foetus.

Injuries at birth.

##### *Gastro-Intestinal Diseases.*

Diarrhoea and enteritis.

Diseases of the stomach.

Dysentery.

"Convulsions" are often one of the symptoms of gastro-intestinal disturbance. They may also be due to head injuries at birth. In the latter months of infancy convulsions may suggest a tuberculous meningitis. Convulsions may also usher in one of the acute infectious diseases of infancy and childhood.

##### *Respiratory Diseases.*

Pneumonia, broncho- or lobar.

Bronchitis.

These may be primary, but are frequently secondary to the acute infectious diseases as measles, whooping-cough, influenza, etc.

##### *Infectious Diseases.*

Syphilis (usually congenital).

Tuberculosis, generalized or tuberculous meningitis, usually acquired in the home environment; sometimes from tuberculous cow's milk.

Whooping-cough. Serious in early infancy with unfavorable sequelae.

Measles. Serious in infancy. Highest death rate from measles occurs in second year of life.

Influenza. During epidemics may be an important cause of death.

Scarlet fever (rarely a cause of death in infancy).

Diphtheria. High immunity in early infancy.

The prenatal and neonatal factors bulk largest in our present infant mortalities. The problems of ante-natal and neonatal pathology are beset with many difficulties, but an excellent be-

ginning in their solution has been made by Ballantyne and his co-workers. It is of great importance to realize that the welfare of the mother has both a direct and an indirect bearing upon the health of her unborn child. Prenatal care is synonymous with maternity welfare. The nutrition of the mother is reflected in the nutrition and growth of the foetus. The quality of the food even more than its quantity has been shown to have a marked influence on the unborn infant. Infectious diseases, notably syphilis, have a prejudicial effect upon the foetus.

The employment of the mother in the latter months of pregnancy in industry which calls for considerable exertion affects unfavorably the outcome for the child. Hence, steps have been taken in most of the European countries to throw about pregnant women in industry certain safeguards and to make provisions for them both before and after confinement. The tendency in those countries has been to extend maternity benefits in medical and nursing service and to make more ample provisions for the mother during the time she is out of work.

#### CONDITION OF THE MOTHER AND PRENATAL CARE

The nationality of the mother, her age, the number of her previous pregnancies, her social and economic status—all have more or less of a bearing upon the outcome of her pregnancy and the welfare of her baby. Illegitimacy has a decided influence upon the infant mortality, the rate being about twice as high as that for legitimate babies. The underlying causes of congenital defects and malformations are but little understood. These, however, form a small proportion of the deaths from prenatal causes. Over-work and exhaustion or injury to the mother, appear in a certain number of cases to

have brought on premature births and miscarriages. We are much in the dark as to the cause of many of the stillbirths. It is known that syphilis is the most prolific cause, and that over-work and strain are often contributing factors.

Summing up our present knowledge as it bears upon the prevention of ante-natal mortality, it is fair to assume that between 40 and 50 per cent of the early deaths can be prevented by intensive prenatal care. Other factors will undoubtedly yield to treatment as our investigations become more exact. The intensive and thorough treatment of syphilis in pregnant women bids fair to reduce considerably the number of ante-natal deaths and to affect favorably the infant mortality rate among those who survive.

#### BUNGLING OBSTETRICS

The number of infants who perish at the time of birth or shortly thereafter, reflects seriously upon the present state of our midwifery. Too little attention is still given by our physicians and midwives to that prenatal care which assures a safe and happy outcome to pregnancy. The science of obstetrics has risen to almost an exact science comparable to that of mechanics, but its practice as carried on by the ordinary practitioner of medicine and the ignorant midwife is far from ideal. If the true causes of death of newborn infants were recorded on the death certificates it is probable that a high percentage of them could be traced to either lack of suitable prenatal care or to bungling obstetrics, or to both. The high maternal mortality rate in this country indicates that the mothers do not even receive all the care which our knowledge prompts. Are not the pages of Semmelweis and Holmes, of Pasteur and Lister open before us?



## BIRTH CONTROL

While we face the appalling loss of life *in utero* or shortly after birth, we are confronted with another social malady which insidiously invites erotic stimulation but refuses to bear the responsibility, which should normally follow, of rearing offspring. Studies on depopulation in various countries have forced the conclusion that the decline in the birth rate, while having social and economic roots, is still largely due to voluntary limitation of the offspring either by means of contraceptive measures or abortion, if conception has "accidentally" taken place. Throughout the civilized world there is an ever widening propaganda for so-called "birth control" or "voluntary parenthood." Special periodicals are devoted to its cult and sold on the streets of our metropolitan centers. The movement has gained momentum in France, Holland and New Zealand and has spread in England and the United States.

Thus far the contraceptive methods advised have been practised largely by the upper social classes and those in good economic circumstances. Those most able to bear children and to meet the expense of their upbringing have been the very ones to shirk the responsibility while those for whom "birth control" is claimed to be a great boon still continue to "breed like rabbits." It is questionable, even if "birth control" should accomplish all that its devotees claim, whether any considerable proportion of the population would take all the necessary precautions under the urge of the "race preservation instinct." There is no question at the present time that the native American stocks are rapidly dying out as a result of their declining fertility and are being replaced by races or mixtures of races which do not refuse to bear chil-

dren. Take, for instance, the rise of the Russian and Polish Jews on the Atlantic coast and the Japanese and Italians on the Pacific slope.

## THE DECLINING BIRTH RATE

It is instructive here to recall that the declining birth rate in France gave alarm as early as 1870 and led to a thorough study of the causes of infant mortality and their prevention. The intensive methods employed in France for child hygiene gave her the distinction of being the pioneer in modern maternity and infant welfare. Despite this, France today faces an even more serious situation than she did after the Franco-Prussian War as the undercurrents of "birth control" have formed eddies in a number of centers which prevent that healthy recuperation assured by a substantial increase of births. Germany also realized that motherhood should be protected and births encouraged. Before the War, Germany had set up well conceived measures for the protection of maternity and infancy. Special attention was given to maternity benefits. Every effort was made to keep babies with their mothers, and nursing benefits were supplied.

In England is witnessed the interesting phenomenon of a gradually increasing birth rate with an infant mortality rate which continues to fall, reaching the low figure of 80 in 1920. While it cannot be shown that there is an invariable relation between the birth rate and infant mortality, it is within bounds to say that no country with a declining birth rate can ultimately maintain itself unless definite steps are taken to reduce the infant mortality to its lowest limits. It is even then questionable whether the "stranger within the gates," who has carried out the Biblical mandate to

"be fruitful and multiply," will not eventually possess the land.

#### COMPLEXITY OF CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

The direct causes of infant mortality have already been listed. They may be followed in detail by consulting some of the books given as references at the end of this brief discussion. The principal causes, while acting as guides to our knowledge of infant mortality, do not carry us very far into the contributing factors. To gain some idea of the complexity and diversity of these contributing causes the most important of them are here given, although no attempt is made to assign their relative importance or mutual relationship:

#### CONTRIBUTING FACTORS INFLUENCING INFANT MORTALITY

##### *Character of the Population.*

- Racial stamina and resistance.
- Habits and customs.
- General intelligence.
- Age distribution.
- Homogeneity.
- Diversity of language.
- Industrial welfare.
- Stability of residence.

##### *Meteorological.*

- Variations in temperature.
- Relative humidity.
- Prevailing winds. Dust storms.
- Sunshine or fogs.

##### *Births.*

- Marked increase or decrease in birth rate.
- Changes in completeness of birth notification and registration.
- Relative number of first born in any one year.
- Proportion of male to female.
- Proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births.
- Number of stillbirths.
- Attendants at birth.

##### *Nationality.*

- Manners and customs.
- Prevalence of breast feeding.

- Immunity to certain diseases.
- Adaptability to new environment.
- White vs. Negro death rates.

##### *Condition of the Mother.*

- Poverty and bad social life.
- Shiftlessness and ignorance.
- Industrial employment.
- Age at marriage.
- Frequency of pregnancies.
- Urban or rural life.
- Malnutrition.
- Exhausting diseases  
(Tuberculosis and syphilis).
- Alcoholism.
- Industrial poisonings.

##### *Standards of Public Health.*

- Milk and water supplies.
- Domestic and municipal sanitation.
- Character of prenatal and obstetric care.
- Housing conditions.
- Training of physicians and nurses in infant welfare.
- Organization of infant welfare.
- Methods of infant feeding.  
(Proportion of breast feeding.)
- Provisions for treatment of syphilis and tuberculosis.
- Prevalence of vaccination.
- Supervision of midwives.
- Organization for handling epidemics.

##### *Social and Economic Conditions. Wars and Their Aftermath.*

- Unemployment.
- Food shortage.

#### SUMMARY

So many factors are seen to contribute to the mortalities of infancy that no general statement can be given to cover the whole subject. The most logical way to attack the problems which arise in connection with infant mortality is to study each factor thoroughly and apply intensively to each the medical, social and economic resources at our command. This method has resulted in a marked reduction of infant deaths from the gastro-intestinal diseases; it has made inroads upon the respiratory diseases and some of

the acute infections. It remains to be extended to prenatal, natal and neonatal causes of death and to the final conquest of syphilis and tuberculosis.

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## Community Measures to Conserve Child Life

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IT is by "painful steps and slow" that organized society has found its way to even the present inadequate sense of social responsibility.

Tremendous social upheavals, threatening the very foundations of society itself, have, as a rule, been the compelling forces which have marked

forward steps. Stated otherwise, society has advanced in the handling of the problems of special groups or has elevated the required standards of welfare for such groups only in response to a selfish impulse for self-preservation.

With a certain amount of complaisance, modern society has come to look



upon itself as progressing more rapidly along lines of social welfare than was the case with earlier generations, pointing with pride to the rapid advance made along child welfare lines as evidence of the fact.

It is undoubtedly true that within the last ten years remarkable strides have been made, looking to the physical and mental health and social well being of the child, but society did not evolve out of its inner consciousness a purely altruistic motive which carried it forward—the catastrophe of the World War furnished the spur to this rapid progress. The conservation of the race and civilized society demanded that the child be safeguarded, and society, once more in response to selfish interest, moved forward.

In safeguarding child life and health, adult society also serves its own interests; whatever measures are taken by the community to conserve the life of the child react to improve living conditions for the whole community. Child welfare, in all its implications, conceived as anything less than a movement which benefits society as a whole fails of full realization. But, human beings are so constituted that they prefer to believe that they are actuated by unselfish motives. While an appeal made to a community today to safeguard the child is sure of instant response, the community is conscious only of an unselfish motive in this response. On that as a foundation can be built up the structure of public welfare which shall be all inclusive.

#### THE ORIGINAL METHOD OF APPROACH TO CHILD CONSERVATION

If we look back over the early years in which work for children was first undertaken we find that the mode of approach was through the child already handicapped. The child was sick, crippled, orphaned, defective,

hungry, neglected; and to relieve these conditions there were established hospitals, dispensaries, orphan asylums, "milk and ice funds," as well as other relief funds and agencies. No one could resist the appeal of the suffering child.

The poor boards and the poor farm provided the chief relief to be offered by the county and town, while the other phases of child conservation work were made available by volunteer agencies.

#### THE MODERN APPROACH TO CHILD CONSERVATION

The modern approach to child conservation, whether along lines of health or social betterment, is along lines of prevention; the aim shifts from the relief of suffering and of handicaps of one sort or another from which surviving children may suffer, to the actual conserving of life itself to thousands of children, who under the old order would have died; and the insuring to all children of physical and mental health together with full opportunity for development and success.

Volunteer agencies have as always demonstrated methods and have outlined policies to be pursued in this vitally important field, but organized society, as represented by government, whether borough, town, state or national, has as yet assumed but a very small part of the program as its responsibility; or if assumed, the activities are performed only in a perfunctory way. Much education of officials and of the public is necessary before certain of these activities will be taken over as an integral part of government; *i.e.*, before the community and school nurse, for example, shall be looked upon as quite as essential to proper administration of town or county affairs as the policeman or tax collector, the sheriff or the district attorney.



### OUR PURPOSE DEFINED

We shall attempt in this discussion to limit ourselves to a consideration of community measures which are essential to the conservation of child life and we shall attempt to indicate a practical method of approach to their realization.

We interpret "the conservation of child life" to mean not only the minimizing of infant mortality but the assurance to all young life in the community of health, both mental and physical, happiness and an opportunity for full development and success.

### THREE PHASES IN DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY MEASURES

The problem which is presented, divides itself into three phases: First, the formulation of an adequate program of community measures for the conservation of child life; second, the organization of existing agencies in the community for the promotion of this program; third, the education of the community to the realization that the entire program is the direct responsibility of organized government, and that it is their responsibility as citizens to transfer the support of the program to the official budget to be provided for out of the tax rates, whether national, state or local, leaving to private agencies, the pioneer field of experimentation and path-finding to even more efficient service.

### THE "COMMUNITY" DEFINED

Before outlining community measures which are essential if child life is to be conserved, we must determine what shall constitute our community. It should be of such size as to afford the probability of securing leadership from among its people; it should contain within its borders sufficient wealth to make it probable that adequate funds will be available to carry on a

worthy program, whether as a volunteer enterprise or a project supported out of the taxes; existing conditions, whether they be geographical, political, or economic should not be such as to make harmonious coöperation impossible.

For Pennsylvania, at least, the county, with its political, educational, health and judicial organizations already functioning on that basis and correlated with the state as a supervising and standardizing agency, affords the ideal unit for community organization for child conservation. Within the county, cities, boroughs and townships are to be considered as working units, capable of conducting certain phases of the work independently, as for example the well baby clinic, but for other phases dependent upon and coöperating with the other units within the county; a motor dental unit or a maternity hospital service being an illustration in point.

### WHAT SHALL CONSTITUTE AN ADEQUATE PROGRAM?

We have stated as our general proposition that the modern approach to the whole subject must be by way of prevention. We are at present traveling a vicious circle of ignorance as to the simple laws of health on the part of the adult and child, of the rich and poor, of the educated and uneducated, so that we may make our attack at any point of the circle and ultimately travel the whole circumference before our task is completed.

Let us, then, lay out our program in logical sequence from the prenatal period, recognizing as we do so that at that point in our circle we still have before us the problem of training men and women in fundamentals of racial health and worthy parenthood, which alone can insure health and full opportunity for development to the child.

In brief, our program may be stated to be that laid down in the Minimum Standards for Child Welfare, adopted by the Washington and regional conferences on child welfare in 1919.<sup>1</sup>

In the space allotted it is not possible to do more than touch upon the high spots indicated in that report, but for the purpose of developing our idea of community organization especial reference must be made to the standards as they relate to the mother and her young child.

#### FOR THE MOTHER AND YOUNG CHILD

No community, large or small, may consider that it has laid adequate foundations for the conservation of child life, if it has not made provision for a prenatal service for pregnant woman; infant consultation service to "Keep the Well Child Well"; and pre-school clinics for the purpose of establishing such vigorous health in the young child that he shall enter upon his school career unhampered by physical defects and faulty health habits.

Coincident with these provisions, there should be available maternity wards in general hospitals or special maternity homes or hospitals within reach of even the more remote parts of the community, in order to insure safety to mother and child at the time of delivery. Maternity wards and hospitals, however, do not insure safety unless conducted by skilled obstetricians and obstetrical nurses; this necessity at once brings us face to face with the problem of standards of medical and nursing education and hospital administration. Obviously such standards can be set up only by state or national authority and we are forced to the conclusion, thus early, that our "community," to handle the

child conservation problem effectively, must be conceived as something larger than the borough or town or county. County organization, efficient as it may be, cannot function properly unless supported by adequate standards on the part of the state departments of health, education, welfare, labor and the judicial system. Moreover, these standards must be more than paper standards and must be interpreted to the local communities by responsible state officials.

The field of service to the young child and his mother is not covered without the day nursery, the "toddlers playground" and the playground with its athletic field and community center for the use of the entire family. Until economic conditions are adjusted so that the mother is not called upon to work outside of her home, the day nursery must be looked upon as an essential factor in the conservation of the life of the child, and the playground must provide the field for the development of character and a wholesome outlet for the child's energies.

#### FOR GENERAL COMMUNITY SANITATION

Before concerning ourselves further with the community measures which must be outlined for the conservation of the life of the child of school age, let us consider those measures which are fundamental to life conservation of all ages, but which are especially needed by the infant and the young child who is susceptible to all environmental conditions.

General community sanitation is an absolute prerequisite to any adequate program of child conservation. Without this, dabbling in "Well Baby Clinics," "Health Centers," and "Fly Campaigns," is but palliating symptoms, while many of the underlying causes of infant mortality and physical handicap remain. The community

<sup>1</sup> Children's Bureau publication, Conference Series, No. 2, No. 62.

must insure to itself, for the sake of the child, pure water; adequate sewage disposal; clean streets (these presuppose a proper street surface); proper housing; proper garbage collection and disposal; the elimination of nuisances of all sorts, especially of fly breeding spots; such adequate regulation and inspection as will insure a pure food and milk supply. In addition, there must be the enforcement of such quarantine regulations that the danger of spread of contagious disease shall be reduced to a minimum.

To insure these community measures the machinery is already in existence. The local and state health officer, board of health, department of health, department of public safety, department of public works, or whatever designations may be given the special agencies involved, are ready to function provided the citizens so direct. If they do not function it is the wish of the community that this should be so, for has not the community, in the use it has made of its citizenship, placed men and women in office to represent it and to act for it in these matters?

#### FOR THE SCHOOL CHILD

No more important agency exists for the conservation of child life than is to be found in the public school system; and yet up to this time this opportunity for this special service has been very largely neglected. For a period of five hours a day over several months of the year, for at least eight years in the case of the vast majority of children, in the most plastic period in the life of the child, he is in compulsory attendance upon the school. Adequate courses in the public schools in general health education and physical training will go far to protect the life and health of the individual child, and courses in home economics will lay the future foundation for intelligent home

making, which is the only basis on which child welfare can be made secure. The public school system offers an unparalleled opportunity for at least an annual stock taking of the physical health of the children of the community, for the correction of defects and the control of contagious disease through an adequate system of school medical, or let us say, school health inspection and follow-up.

The special class for the mentally defective in the local school should be linked up with suitable state provision for the careful training of these same children during the adolescent period, followed by probation for those who may safely be at large and permanent institutional care for others, especially the woman of child-bearing age. This provision is essential if the propagation of defective stock is to be minimized and if unskilled and irresponsible parental care, a factor playing a large part in infant mortality, is to be eliminated.

Vocational guidance is a necessary part of the service to be rendered by the school system if the child is to be given his full opportunity. His mental and physical health depend upon the nicety of adjustment made by him to his environment.

#### FOR THE CHILD IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

A community program for the conservation of child life must include such regulations and their enforcement as shall prevent the employment of the child before the fourteenth, preferably before the sixteenth year. When he is so employed the work must be such as is adjusted to his physical and mental capacities and should be done only under proper sanitary and moral conditions.

Such a program calls for continuation schools, probation officers, factory

inspectors and health examiners. The latter may well be attached to the public school health inspection system. Free dispensary or hospital service should be provided for the correction of defects of eye, ear, nose, throat and teeth, which service is also essential to the success of school health inspection, and to work for the pre-school child.

#### FOR DEPENDENT, NEGLECTED, DELINQUENT OR DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

All the measures previously outlined for the normal child (if he may be so defined) must hold with even greater force for this group of children, plus the added provision for child placing and supervision, including some form of mothers' assistance. There is no room in any modern program for orphan asylums but for the defective child, institutional care may be essential.

The juvenile court is an absolutely necessary factor in the handling of many problems presented by this group and must be included with its probations officers and social workers.

#### FOR ALL CHILDREN

Mental and physical health depends very largely upon wholesome recreational opportunities offered the growing child and the adolescent. The supervised playground and community center have already been noted. There must, however, be regulation and supervision of commercialized recreation. Proper illumination of parks, playgrounds and highways, and adequate patrolling, by both men and women officers, are essential to community morale and the safety of children. Such provisions will go far to eliminate the "red light district," prostitution and venereal disease, the great scourge of infant life and health.

It is superfluous, perhaps, to state

that good roads and transportation facilities are essential if child conservation measures are to be made effective. Without these facilities it is impossible for health, education or other welfare activities to reach beyond the more densely populated centers in any county, for many months during the year. They must therefore be included as an integral part of our program.

This skeleton of the community program, which has not touched at all certain great economic problems which society must ultimately adjust, will, to the specialist in the several lines, seem very meager; it is intended to be merely suggestive and to afford a "bird's eye view" of the broad scope of the field to be covered. It is only by a vision of the whole problem and the great need that we may expect to capture the imagination of our "community" and translate its good intentions into actual service.

#### HOW IS SUCH A PROGRAM TO BE INITIATED?

Nora Milnes says in her discussion of child welfare,<sup>3</sup> "The problems of the child are never the beginning; they are but the end of other social problems." This is true, but, it is equally true that the way to the solution of these "other social problems" is through the child; the community can be led to remedy conditions and to plan well for the future when it is once thoroughly alive to the fact that the welfare of the child is jeopardized by its negligence.

In every community there are always a few men and women who recognize the need for improved conditions, and who believe that it is possible to coördinate community activities for the sake of the child; but their knowledge of the difficulties to be overcome in the community, not the least of which is apathy, is sufficiently deaden-

<sup>3</sup> *Child Welfare*. E. P. Dutton Co., New York.



ing to prevent the initiation of effort on their part. It is, therefore, essential that the spark which is to stimulate the movement for organization should be introduced from without the confines of the "local community." Only by frequent contact with the individual who has first hand knowledge of difficulties overcome under similar conditions can the spirit of optimism, which is essential to continued effort, be sustained among the local leaders and workers.

The ideal approach to organization in the local community for the conservation of child life is through the legally constituted children's division of the department of health or department of welfare, of the state, or through the separately constituted children's commission or board, depending upon the type of state organization. This presupposes that these state departments are so officered that *real* leadership is provided, and that a clear vision of the problems to be attacked and the methods to be employed in their solution, are part of the official equipment. If, on the other hand, the personnel of the state departments is recruited from among the "politically elect" and not from among the temperamentally fitted and technically trained, little hope for official leadership from this source can be entertained.

The alternative then presented is the initiative and leadership provided by the great national organization concerned with child welfare. We are about to witness a splendid demonstration of this sort on the part of the National Child Health Council, at Mansfield, Ohio, which should provide us with convincing data as to method, etc., within the next five years.

The advantage to be gained through leadership provided by the state as contrasted with that provided by unofficial organizations lies in this, that

from the beginning until the end (which is the full realization of the program), the movement is of necessity recognized as an expression of the will of all the people through their duly appointed or elected representatives. There is, therefore, an assurance of permanence and official recognition and support, which is not assured in the voluntary undertaking.

#### PUBLICITY

The key to an aroused community spirit is publicity. Unless individuals are aware of the need, unless they are made to understand that there are rational measures which can be applied to meet the need, they will not take action. It is, therefore, of prime importance that publicity for the child conservation program should be undertaken by the public press and that the leaders who are responsible for the initiation of the movement, whether representatives of the state or of the volunteer organization, should be heard and seen in the communities in which action is to be taken. *Personal contact is essential.*

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the fact that our "peripheral contact" with our communities, whether it be from our state headquarters or our national organization, must be made by men and women of the highest type, if our undertaking is to be successful. It is the sparsely settled county, it is the remote community which is in need of leadership, inspiration, stimulation; it is the children of these communities who are in dire straits; to help them, our best workers are none too good. Too often we have failed in our efforts to secure community action because we have sent uninspired messengers to carry our gospel and because the director of the enterprise has been "saved" for the larger cities.



## ORGANIZATION

The second step is community organization. This implies a search for local leadership and the coördination of the activities of agencies already in the field, not the creation of a new organization. It implies, ultimately, the union of volunteer agencies with the legally constituted government and the gradual absorption into the official budget, of the support of the child conservation program. In order to accomplish this, there is need of a group of community organizers within the state organization or volunteer agency, who shall follow up the publicity in any given community and develop therein a working unit to promote the welfare of children. The community organizers should be accredited and responsible to the children's division, of a state organization, or should be part of the field force of the volunteer agency.

These community organizers, with the whole program in mind, should aim to set up an organization within the county, consisting of: a county chairman; a county committee of not less than five members; a county council, composed of a representative from every organization functioning on a county basis, and local (city, borough and township) sub-committees responsible to the county chairman—all officially designated as representing the state governmental unit with which they are connected; in Pennsylvania, the State Department of Health.

Experience seems to indicate that the county chairman of such an organization may well be a woman. Service for children makes a distinct appeal to women. Social welfare phases of government are those particularly needing the qualities possessed by women, and work done by them in a semi-official capacity in this type of

county organization, will be of invaluable training for future official work and will at the same time make an immediate contribution to public welfare.

This comprehensive scheme of organization cannot be completed in a day or a year. With the limited funds at the command of either state or volunteer agencies it is obvious that the staff organizers cannot remain for extended periods in a single community if an effort is to be made to develop the idea on a state-wide scale. The growth of the county organization (and that of its subdivisions) must be relatively slow and must call for repeated visits on the part of the organizers and other members of the headquarters staff. The growth must be that of the hardy perennial variety and not that of the mushroom type.

There is a great advantage to be gained when the attempt at organization is undertaken on a state-wide scale. The American temperament is stimulated by "drives" and "days" or "weeks" to mass action to accomplish a specific purpose—whether it be the collection of money, the promulgation of an idea, such as "safety first" or "clean-up weeks" or what not. When "everybody's doing it" it is infinitely easier to stimulate individual communities to the undertaking of a child conservation program. Advantage should be taken of this adjunct to a successful organization campaign.

We have said that our organization should include a county council, composed of representatives from all agencies conducting work for children and for health on a county basis. Much time, money and effort is to be saved by bringing these workers together for a discussion of the whole problem and for the mapping of the field of work, leaving each group, in so far as possible, in complete control of its special phases of the program.

The child-health station is the rallying point for organization. It is impossible to lay down a plan of action which will fit conditions in all communities but, in general, the aim must be to discover the most vigorous organization in the town or county and to link this up definitely with the support and operation of the health station. This may be the Red Cross, the woman's club, the Child Conservation League or other agency. There are times when the difficulty presented is that of selecting, from among several already in the field, the organization to which the child-health station service is to be delegated, while the remaining groups find their activities directed along other lines of child conservation. This selection requires infinite tact and much educational work among the groups to which the baby station is not definitely assigned.

Among the numerous organizations in the field, experience would seem to indicate that the Parent-Teacher-Associations may be counted upon to push work in the schools; the Women's Christian Temperance Union, a community recreational program and regulation of commercialized amusement, this bearing a very definite relation to their program for community morality; the Child Conservation League and child welfare committee of the woman's club may be counted upon for actual service as helpers in the health station with the children, themselves, and in social activities with the mothers—as may also many other groups of women. In counties in which the Red Cross is actively operating, they may assume the entire financial and operating problem of one or more centers; where less successful, they will at least provide for equipment or partial maintenance, and this is also true of the Tuberculosis Association.

In many communities the Visiting

Nurse Association or other nursing agency will provide the hours of public health nursing service necessary to promote the health center educational work; or the school board or an industrial plant may loan their nurse and physician for the purpose.

One of the necessary steps in the development of the child-health station is the location of the infants and pre-school children in the community, together with a dissemination of knowledge among the mothers of all classes that such a health service exists. For this purpose the League of Women Voters, with its ward and precinct organization, offers the most efficient agency for taking a census of these potential patrons of the health station. As the sub-committee on census of the child welfare committee, the League can, within a period of a very few days, gather the necessary data, on a simple form provided for that purpose, which will enable the nurse and her sub-committee on health station to get in touch with those homes most in need of help. Incidentally, this type of activity enables the League to test out its machinery which later can be used to further child welfare activities through good government.

The function of the organizer is, in very large measure, to point out to the community its already existing resources, and, having done this, to show them how they may be utilized for the realization of the child conservation program. In order to carry out the idea of unity of purpose it is well to designate the various organizations as sub-committees of the county or local child welfare committee; for example, the Red Cross becomes the "Child Health Station Committee"; the Parent-Teacher-Association, the "School Health Committee"; The Women's Christian Temperance Union, the "Health and Morals Committee," etc.

## FINANCES

There is need of a finance committee in this preliminary stage of our community organization. On this committee there should be both men and women. In the larger centers the backing of the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs and the Chamber of Commerce is invaluable and their representation on the finance sub-committee is desirable. The service of the committee may resolve itself into a coördinating of the collections and disbursements of the Red Cross and Tuberculosis Association (in which case these organizations must be strongly represented on the committee); or it may develop a community chest, out of which the child welfare work may be supported. In addition, it may link up with this volunteer activity the local board of education or board of health which, in return for service rendered by the public health nurse in the schools, or in contagious disease control, will pay into the treasury a sum of money annually.

In communities in which there are numerous small manufacturing plants which are without a "Welfare Department," the custom of soliciting from the employer an annual contribution of one dollar per person employed has helped in a large degree to solve the financial problem.

## COÖPERATION OF MEDICAL PROFESSION

To insure the success of this preliminary phase of our child conservation movement, as embodied in the activities of the child-health station, the coöperation of the physicians of a community is essential. There is a definite advantage, therefore, in having the program initiated by the child-health division of the state health department, with the distinct understanding that the essence of the health station work is educa-

tional, preventive of disease and defect, and in no sense, competitive medical practice. On this rock of misunderstanding many an otherwise promising undertaking has been wrecked.

Up to this point we have dealt with our community organization and method along the old conventional lines. There is still the volunteer association, the membership dues, the "rummage sale," the bazaar, the contributions and other expedients by which the funds are raised for maintaining the enterprise, which, after all, reaches but a few of those who should be served. We still entertain the notion that "we" are doing something for "them."

Possibly we have added a little more of scientific efficiency in that we have attempted to eliminate some of the overlapping and misdirected efforts of the old individualistic method of child helping; but we have indicated that which is far more important: namely, that *the initiative for the movement should come from one of the legally constituted divisions of state government* rather than from an extra-governmental agency. We, that is, all the people, have begun through our already created agencies to do something for ourselves and our children.

THE CHILD HEALTH STATION NOT THE  
END IN ITSELF

This first step in our program of organization, as expressed in the activities of the child-health station, is not an end in itself. It is the means to be used for the education of the whole community as to the crying need of all the other phases of service. The child-health station is the symbol of the most recently evolved method of service to the child. In the rural communities and small towns it is still in the path-finding and experimental stage and, therefore, a fit subject for volunteer endeavor; and

because it concentrates attention upon the child in a new and sometimes spectacular way, it is of great value in stirring the community conscience in regard to other needs of children inclusive of the need of improved general sanitation.

The machinery for the realization of the remaining phases of our program is already in existence in our public school system, our public health boards and officers, our borough or town councils, our judicial system, our highway and labor departments and the laws on our statute books. It remains for us to bring home to our communities that these agencies are theirs; that with relatively little effort and expense they can be made to function quite as efficiently as any private organization and that they will reach an infinitely larger clientele. Moreover, there are certain parts of the program which in the very nature of things cannot be undertaken by the private agency but must rest upon the state or municipality.

To make the transition from activities undertaken for the welfare of the child, organized and supported by volunteer agencies to those same activities undertaken and supported by all the people for themselves, that is, by organized government, it is necessary that the woman citizen (for it is she who holds the balance of power) should be informed as to the duties of local, county and state government, with especial reference to children, and also that she should understand the working of the political machinery by which her ideals for the child may be made a reality. In other words, women must be taught how to function as citizens and to be content with nothing less than efficient government, without which there can be no permanence to the child welfare program.

As has been said, women are inter-

ested in the "welfare" phases of government. It is along the lines of health, education and "social justice" that they are temperamentally fitted to make their own distinctive contribution to government; but the path from the primary to the election ballot box, and thence to the county commissioner, to borough or city council table, to the health board, school board, poor board, the road commissioners and the courts, has not been made plain nor has it been made easy.

The assessed valuation of property, the tax rate, the budget and a properly controlled public expenditure has little or no significance in relation to child welfare for the average voter, man or woman. Until these simple fundamentals have become part of every day thought and action, until the intricacies of political machinery have no more mysteries or terrors for the woman than has her Wilcox and Gibbs machine, with which she stitches the garments of her children, we cannot hope to secure marked progress in the coördination of volunteer and governmental activities, with especial reference to child welfare.

For the training of the woman citizen in these matters, our reliance must be placed upon the non-partisan educational agency, represented by the League of Women Voters, which as the sub-committee on census made its first contact with the child welfare movement. Its educational work in the rural community, small city and town should begin not with the provisions of the Federal Constitution and the functions of Congress, but with the factors in government which touch the daily life of mother and child. Only so will enthusiasm be kindled for undertaking the responsibilities of citizenship.

As daily vigilance in the home is necessary to insure the safety of the



child, so daily vigilance in connection with community measures for child welfare is essential if our ideals are to be attained. With leadership and standards provided in the state departments of health, education, welfare and labor, with the will to coordinate and standardize activities for child welfare within the county or district,

nothing is impossible. Time, only, is necessary to assure the result.

That time will be hastened when more of the time and energy devoted to private philanthropy is directed toward increased efficiency in government and when adequate appropriations to the health, educational and welfare activities of government are made.

## Positive Health for American Childhood

By HARRIET L. LEETE, R. N.

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**N**OTHING great was ever achieved without vision, application and positive force. Is it not, therefore, wise for us at this point in our national life to pause, and to give serious consideration to the inquiry, "Wherein lies the greatest force or power for the development of our future national life?" Surely the answer admits of no controversy. Our greatest opportunities and responsibilities are with and for our potential citizens—our children.

What is of fundamental importance for American childhood? Despite the fact that some of the most marvelous minds in all ages have been forced to achieve fame under the strain of great physical handicaps, we nevertheless appreciate that health is of basic significance in the evolution of a vital national life.

What then is positive health? Positive health may be defined as meaning a body free from any handicaps, physical or mental, with a resistance which enables it to withstand environmental attacks to reduce its power, a vigor which radiates strength and happiness and, back of all this, a spiritual tone which is the keynote of an inspiring personality. Assuredly, it is the prerogative of childhood to have such health placed within its reach. Have

we given, are we giving our children opportunities for such all-round development of their physical, mental and spiritual life?

### HEALTH STATUS

The findings of the examining boards for the United States army during the late war are convincing proof that as a nation we have been woefully negligent of our most precious asset—our children. The conclusions drawn, relative to the 35 per cent of the young men examined who were found unfit for active service, were that the highest percentage of defects was traceable to neglect in childhood.

Again, facing our problem in an endeavor to know just what it is, we learn from an examination of the twenty million children enrolled in the elementary public schools of the country that the commonest defects among these children are as follows:

- 1% mental deficiency
- 5% tuberculosis—present or past
- 5% defective hearing
- 25% defective sight
- 15% to 25% diseased tonsils or adenoids
- 10% to 20% deformed feet, spine or joints
- 50% to 75% defective teeth
- 15% to 25% malnutrition



## THE POINT OF ATTACK

One of the most characteristic expressions of Americans is: "Let's do it now." Why then do we so complacently jog along, waiting for another cataclysm to engulf us before we wake up and actually face the situation? We have well-known methods which will improve conditions at least fifty per cent. It is high time we face with energy, and in a clear-cut fashion, our problem of bettering conditions for American children. When we do face the situation, and organize and train our army of potential citizens as thoroughly as we organized and trained our forces for war, we shall have a nation of which we justly may be proud. We shall have played fair with our children.

In approaching the problem, two considerations of a general nature ought to be kept in view. First, our goal must be positive. As has been aptly said, "The ultimate aim of the health service must be the development of positive, vital physical well-being, rather than the mere absence of disease." In the second place, success for our program demands that it should be the concern of the entire community, not of an isolated few.

## THE FIRST REQUIREMENT

Specifically, the first requirement of a program for the positive health of American childhood is a thorough-going, periodical physical and mental examination of every child. The basis of our work must be a knowledge of the facts relating to the physical condition of every child. This sounds simple enough, yet such examinations are not being given in all too many cases, and in still more, unfortunately, have been thus far of a rather superficial nature.

## NEXT STEPS

Keeping for a basis of action the known defects of every child, our next logical steps are:

1. To find the remedies.

2. To discover how best to secure them.

These two points may be summarized as follows:

1. Individual needs or personal hygiene.

2. Environmental needs or public sanitation.

Taking the report on the twenty million school children for whom data are available, what are the individual needs of America's children, and what is required to remedy the defects indicated?

## INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

1. *Defective Teeth: 50% to 75%.*

Obviously the first essential requirement in this connection is a sufficient number of dentists and dental hygienists. The present supply is inadequate. Tooth brush drills are another suggestion which has been endorsed as a graphic method of appeal for better care of the teeth, and which has also been of value as an educational force. Boston with its Forsythe Clinic, and Rochester with the Eastman Clinic, have made wonderful strides. These clinics have extended their services to the public school and have transmitted valuable information relative to the care of the teeth; but the personnel released has not been sufficient to care for all of the children who need attention.

However, the care and correction of defective teeth does not solve the problem entirely. As Dr. H. L. K. Shaw has pointed out in the October, 1920, number of *Mother and Child*, we must have a keen perception of the expectant mother's influence upon the health of

the child: we must plan to secure for her a proper diet if the child is to have sound teeth. We must give the child a chance for good teeth before he is in the world as a separate entity.

2. *Malnutrition: 15% to 25%.* The importance of proper nutrition is perhaps as well comprehended as that of any other single item in our child health campaign. Dr. E. V. McCollum's<sup>1</sup> statement on this point can hardly be improved upon. He says:

The opportune time to attain the maximum benefits of proper nutrition is in prenatal life and early infancy, and more concern should be directed toward the education of mothers concerning the benefits to be derived by their children as the results of right living on their part. . . . We would call attention again to the types of diets which succeed in the nutrition of man and of animals. They are the strictly carnivorous type in which practically all parts of the animal are eaten; the type so common in parts of the Orient, that is, that in which the leafy vegetables, such as spinach, cabbage, lettuce, turnip tops, beet tops and other leaves, find a prominent place in the diet; and lastly the diet such as we use in America, containing liberal amounts of milk and other dairy products. The trouble is we do not consume enough of the protective foods, milk and the leafy vegetables. These are so constituted as to correct the faults in a cereal, legume seed, tuber and meat diet, such as is common in our country today. The sooner we carry this information to every child in the land, and send him home with this message to his mother, the sooner will we have started on the right road toward better health and better physical development.

3. *Deformed feet, spine and joints: 10% to 20%.* Although we have been told that "rickets characterized by faulty bone growth is a national health problem and is essentially a dietary

one," and while we know that many deformities can be corrected or at least improved if sufficient heed is given while the bones are still pliable, it is apparent that there are many children with deformities resulting from a lack of proper attention. Even when proper attention is given, it is difficult in many cases to interest ignorant or over-worked parents so that they will be willing to follow instructions and invest money in the long and tedious process of correcting such deformities. Nevertheless, it is our definite responsibility to render patient scientific assistance, particularly, because of the many "fakirs" who guarantee immediate relief, only to disappear in a little while, leaving the parents sadder and wiser—and the children unaided.

4. *Diseased tonsils and adenoids: 15% to 25%.* Diseased tonsils or adenoids may cause obstruction and prevent proper nasal breathing, may make it easy for the child to take colds, may affect his hearing, interfere with healthful sleeping and lower his resistance. Their removal is so simple that it is peculiarly negligent for us to allow them to remain, especially when their removal would prove such a source of benefit. Dr. Richard M. Smith of Boston pertinently says, "Correct defects, don't merely detect them."

5. *Defective sight: 25%.*

6. *Defective hearing: 5%.* Much scientific testing of the mentality of school children has demonstrated the fact that frequently a seeming lack of mental response in reality is due to defective sight and hearing rather than to a lack of mental capacity. It would seem that in our schools and classes for mental defectives are many children who are there because of sense defects rather than from a lack of intelligence. These defects in particular require and yield to proper attention and care at an early stage.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. McCollum, Professor of Chemical Hygiene in the School of Hygiene and Public Health in the Johns Hopkins University, is a noted authority on food values.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

7. *Tuberculosis: 5%.* It is evident that a much higher percentage of tuberculous children would be shown if more delicate tests were applied. Sir Arthur Newsholme reminds us as follows:

The highest death rate of any period of life is in the first five years of life; and in the first year after birth, one death out of every twenty-six from all causes is certified to be due to tuberculosis. The real proportion is probably higher, many deaths returned as due to pneumonia or bronchitis being cases of acute tuberculosis. Landouzy has stated that 27 per cent of the deaths in the first two years of life are caused by tuberculosis. Evidently in childhood there is but little resistance to the infection. If we are to reduce the amount of tuberculosis, the prevention of exposure to infection during the first four or five years of the child's life is of supreme importance.

The prevention of tuberculosis thus becomes to an important extent a matter of infant hygiene.

8. *Mental deficiency: 1%.* This is a very conservative estimate. Most studies show a somewhat higher rate of mental deficiency. We are only just touching this important phase of child life. I quote from Dr. C. Edgerton Carter, who writes regarding the mental health of the child, as follows:

So largely is preventive work among children a question of parental education, and so impossible of enforcement are personal health measures, that mental hygiene to be applied must have a practical and elemental basis which appeals to the comprehension of the parents, and for this reason by approaching the subject through the medium of the physical defects and disorders concerning which the parent has an intimate knowledge, one finds a welcome avenue to a fertile field.

Certain it is that we have wonderful opportunities for teaching the pre-school child good mental habits and self-control, habits which may insure

future happiness to himself and others.

9. *Heart disease among school children: 1.5% to 2%.* While this particular defect was not listed in the special report on twenty million school children, it cannot be passed by without a reference to its fundamental importance in a child-health program. Dr. Charles Hendee Smith of New York states:

During the last few years there has been a gradual awakening of consciousness to the fact that the cardiac problem has been too long put aside. . . . The large incidence of heart disease is unquestioned. Organic heart disease competes with tuberculosis and pneumonia for first place among the causes of death. It is true that death takes place in adult life, but the heart disease is commonly acquired during the school age. The number of cases of heart disease which are discovered in school surveys vary considerably, but every school survey detects a certain number of children with cardiac lesions. The estimates of the cases among school children in New York City give from 1.5 per cent to 2 per cent, that is, from eighteen thousand to twenty-five thousand. . . . If it would be possible to send the cardiac patient at the very out-set of his trouble to an institution built and constructed on the lines of our best tuberculosis sanatoria with special adaptations to the differences of the two diseases, who can foresee the tremendous difference in the outcome which would result for the large majority of our heart cases.

#### SOME ASPECTS OF PUBLIC SANITATION

Presupposing that the individual child in the home has received the necessary attention and care, the maintenance of health demands certain environmental safeguards under the control of public authority. The limitations of this paper forbid more than brief suggestions as to the nature of these safeguards.

1. *Control of contagion.* Repeatedly, some contagious disease runs its course among the children of the community,

leaving in its wake either death or after-effects, often vague but so serious as to handicap the child in later years. The seriousness of such outbreaks among school populations is coming more and more to be recognized, as well as the subsequent necessity of their control. Unfortunately there has been considerably less appreciation of their seriousness as affecting children of the pre-school age. A recent study of Massachusetts children insists that propaganda and methods of control should be directed more specifically at the age groups under three years. "It cannot be emphasized too strongly," continues the report, "that in these dangerous years when so many children die of measles and whooping-cough or other complications, the most careful medical attention and nursing are needed. . . . For a period of years (1913-1918) 90 per cent of the deaths from whooping-cough, and 79.5 per cent of those from measles have been under three years old. . . . Measuring our success by a reduction in deaths from these diseases, it is at once apparent that our results depend very largely on how successfully we prevent measles and whooping-cough in children under three. . . ."

This refers only to the deaths. No one knows how many children are handicapped for life as the result of after-effects of contagious diseases which have been allowed to run rampant. Much of the responsibility for these conditions rests as an environmental charge against our public control. Regardless of the fact that it seems impossible to control the situation by isolation or quarantine, we do know that the impossible can be accomplished often by education if we make it vivid and vigorous enough.

2. *Legislation.* A great deal of time, thought and money are spent annually to secure laws for the protection of our

animals, our industrial and farm products and our diverse property rights. No one questions such use of the law-making powers of society as paternalistic. Is it not high time (and why is it more paternalistic) that we give more anxious consideration to laws which affect the health and happiness of our children—laws which insure safe food supplies, especially milk and water; laws which control our sewage disposal, so that danger of contamination is eliminated; laws which make it imperative that house and school rooms be properly lighted and ventilated; laws which control our housing conditions?

3. *Housing.* The housing problem has a very definite place in a child health program. Sir Leslie Mackenzie in a paper on "The Child of the One Room House," summarizes this point in a very terse and effective manner. He writes:

Houses can be classified according to the families they accommodate: but they can also be classified according to the effects on the children. If the family is the growing point of society, the child is the growing point of the family. If you cannot understand social institutions unless you realize that they have their functions in the needs of the family, neither can you understand the functions of the family without realizing that they have their roots in the needs of the child.

4. *Good roads.* The inclusion of this factor in a discussion of public sanitation may at first glance appear to be questionable. It is obvious, of course, that it is of little importance as a factor in the health of city children. It must be remembered, however, that almost one-half of our population still lives under conditions listed by the census as rural, and that in large stretches of rural United States good roads are conspicuous by their absence. One has only to travel on wretched, and at times quite impassible roads, with a county



nurse to appreciate their very definite relation to the health of the child.

5. *Child labor.* Through the influence of the National Child Labor Committee, the Consumer's League and other interested organizations, we are improving the conditions and the laws relating to children who are gainfully employed. But in this, as in all of our legislative matters, not only must proper laws be made, but the means and will to enforcement are essential if results are to be obtained. Of the very greatest importance in this connection would be a universal understanding of the value of healthful surroundings for the child in industry.

#### A SPECIAL CHARGE

A comprehensive child health campaign involves, as a special responsibility, care for the health of dependent and other socially handicapped children. It is to the interest of society, no less than to the interest of these groups, that a health handicap should not be added to their other difficulties. Some of the most important measures in this connection which should be considered and put into practice are those relating to the child with the handicap of an unknown father. It has been said with truth that there may be illegitimate parents but there can be no illegitimate child.

#### HEALTH BOOKKEEPING

It cannot be emphasized too often that in order properly to face our task we must have our facts. We must keep our books accurately, and we must have and know our vital statistics. The United States in this respect is far behind other enlightened nations. In 1918, mortality statistics were available for only 77.8 per cent of the total population, while the birth registration area included but 53 per cent of the total estimated population. Vital statistics

are not only an index of an intelligent consideration of health matters, but the necessary basis as well.

#### HEALTH HABITS

Health for men and women demands health for children. Health for children means a building up of health habits. The building up of such habits is a task which cannot be accomplished solely by a professional group of workers. There opens here a wonderful opportunity for clubs and organizations of various kinds among adults, through the various measures used by health crusaders, health clowns, health leagues in the schools, boy and girl scout movements, etc. It is a work of education in which newspapers, magazines and moving pictures can play, each one, an important rôle.

#### PLACING THE RESPONSIBILITY

Where does the responsibility for periodical physical examinations, the correction of defects and the formation of health habits for every child, rest?

It rests, first of all, upon the parents—father and mother, or guardian. It is a responsibility which, except in the care of dependent children, cannot be shifted from their shoulders. The home must be inviolable, but the preservation of society demands that it must also be possible for sympathetic well-trained individuals to enter a home to assist in its improvement or rehabilitation. Any child-health campaign which does not recognize the fundamental importance of the influence of the parents in the home is doomed in large measure to failure.

However, it is frequently physically or financially impossible for the parents to extend adequate services for this purpose to their children: therefore, in order that such children shall not be handicapped, the burden of rendering adequate assistance must be assumed



by public authorities. This is particularly applicable in the country districts, for many times children living in remote corners can be reached in no other way. The rights of the children in the most isolated districts are as inalienable as are the rights of the children in the more populated centers. We have learned to look to our state departments for advice and assistance in various matters, and as each state has its own peculiar problems, it is of value, if not of the utmost importance, for each state to have a state child-health bureau or department. Furthermore, when such a bureau or department has been authorized, why handicap its functions and inhibit its activities by appropriating insufficient funds for its development?

#### STANDARDS

All social work, using the term in its broadest sense, requires the determination of, and the knowledge of, standards. Such standards are necessary to measure the dimensions of our task and to hold up as objectives toward which to progress. Thus, if we are to succeed in our positive health program for children, we must aim at something very definite and in this connection the standards submitted by the Children's Welfare Conference<sup>2</sup> held in 1919 under the auspices of the federal Children's Bureau, are invaluable. They were formulated with great care, and if we definitely meet them we shall know then how to take the next step.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the article by Miss Lathrop in this volume, entitled, "Standards of Child Welfare."

#### TEST OF CIVILIZATION

It has been said that the most remarkable discovery of the present age, more remarkable than the telephone, automobile or aerial navigation, is the discovery of a social conscience. Perhaps it is this social conscience which has led us to appreciate that the test of our civilization lies in our attitude toward our children. As Secretary Hoover has so vividly put it, "Our responsibility for children is based not alone on human aspirations, but it is also based upon the necessity to secure physical, mental and moral health, and the economic and social progress of a nation. Every child that is delinquent in body, education or character is a charge upon the whole community as a whole and a menace to the community itself. The children are the army with which we must march to progress."

#### FINANCIAL ASPECTS

What of the cost of this program? Dare America say that she cannot afford to build for health? America is recognized as the nation of the greatest wealth in the world. If she cannot finance such a program of adequate care for childhood, what nation can? Billions of dollars annually appropriated by our national, state and local governmental bodies—and how are we building? Are we making the roads smooth and unobstructed for our potential citizens, or are we building rocky roads over which they must travel with weary steps and aching hearts?

## Nutrition as a Factor in Physical Development

By E. V. McCOLLUM, Ph.D., D.Sc.

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EUROPE and America are now confronted with a very serious situation due to the physical deterioration of a large part of their peoples. In America probably half the children of the cities have, or have had rickets. Ninety per cent of all the children of school age are found to have decayed teeth. Over 20 per cent of them are over 10 per cent under the weight normal for their ages, and faulty posture is extraordinarily common. So serious is the condition of malnutrition among school children that a considerable number of organized agencies are now attempting in one way or another to arouse interest among teachers, school authorities and parents with a view to securing greater attention to the correction of physical defects.

There are two schools of active workers interested in the welfare of children at the present time. One of these, and by far the strongest in point of numbers, is the group which holds that the medical and dental clinics are the most important agencies in improving the health of children. According to their view, inspection for the discovery of infected tonsils, adenoids, ear infections or defects of hearing or of vision, faulty posture, decayed teeth and other physical defects, and their prompt and effective treatment, constitute the most effective method of dealing with the problem. They hold that the problem is essentially medical and should remain such.

The other group of workers who are concerned with the improvement of the health of children, favor the establishment of medical and dental

clinics, but maintain that the real problem is one of prevention rather than cure. They believe that the underlying cause of the physical inferiority of the present generation of children lies in faulty development, and that the chief factor responsible for this is faulty nutrition, due to unwise selection of food. They admit that diseased tonsils, adenoids or other conditions requiring medical attention, should be treated with dispatch. Decayed teeth are a menace to health and the cause of much discomfort, and early attention by a dentist can, through repair, afford protection to the health of the child and add to its comfort and usefulness. They believe, however, that the removal of the causes of physical inferiority is possible, and that this method alone offers prospect of relief from the burden of the health problems of children, which are now so great that adequate attention to them would constitute an almost intolerable burden in time, labor and money. I shall attempt to present a demonstration that the real problem is in great measure that of securing optimal development in prenatal life and in infancy and early childhood. This conclusion, as well as the conviction that the proper choice of food is the most effective method of achieving the purpose of bringing about better health and better physical development in childhood, has been forced upon me through experience in observing the effects of diets of many different kinds and qualities upon animals, and through a study of human experience with diets of a number of different types.

## CAUSES OF MALNUTRITION

There is much misconception in the public mind as to the causes of malnutrition. The discovery of the existence of vitamins during the last decade and their popularization, has overshadowed in importance other dietary problems of as great or greater importance, so that many medical and chemical experts have failed, up to the present time, to see the subject in its proper perspective. "Lack of vitamins" is believed by many to be the most important thing to consider in human nutrition. This view of the subject is too narrow and, owing to its wide-spread prevalence, is likely to do much harm.

The evidence is conclusive that almost all peoples living under primitive conditions are physically well developed. One finds in skeletons of human beings who lived three or four hundred years ago along the Pacific Coast from Alaska to Peru, that there are no evidences of defective development, and that the teeth were essentially perfect. The early inhabitants of Iceland had perfect teeth as did the primitive Eskimo. The teeth of the peoples of Europe and America have deteriorated very rapidly during the last century, and parallel with this deterioration has run a general tendency to inferiority in physical development. The causes for this are not to be summed up in the simple statement, "lack of vitamins." The condition is brought about by a number of defects in the diet, and the remedy is to be found in a wise choice of food, not in taking preparations sold commercially. The logical basis for this conclusion can best be appreciated in the light of a brief account of the newer viewpoints brought to light by modern nutrition investigations.

In the popular mind the most at-

tractive feature of the subject of nutrition during recent times, is the spectacular effect of the lack of a sufficient amount of one or another of at least three chemical substances whose existence was not even suspected a few years ago. The dietary deficiency diseases, scurvy, beri-beri and xerophthalmia of a certain type, result from specific starvation for one or another of these substances. The optimum amount of these three substances in the diet cannot be stated in the light of our present knowledge, but the content of each of them in certain of our more important foodstuffs is sufficiently well known to render it possible to plan diets so as to guarantee a reasonable degree of safety.

Animal experimentation has shown that there are great differences in the biological values of the proteins derived from different sources. This difference depends on the fact that the proteins in different foodstuffs yield varying amounts of the amino-acids or digestion products. If the yields of the several amino-acids is such as to make possible the efficient transformation of food proteins into tissue proteins, the proteins have a high value. If, however, one or more of the amino-acids is present in such small amounts as to make it impossible to utilize the more abundant amino-acids, it forms the limiting factor that determines the value of the protein in nutrition. Many of these digestion products are indispensable in the diet, since they cannot be synthetically produced within the tissues. In considering the value of a natural foodstuff or of a diet consisting of a variety of substances, the idea of quality of protein enters into the calculations of the dietitian of today.

Our knowledge of the great variation in the biological values of proteins from various sources throws a new

light on a possible source of injury to the body tissues. Excessive feeding of proteins is generally held to lay a burden on the organism because of the magnitude of the task of metabolizing the quantity of amino-acids absorbed. From what we know of the intermediate compounds formed in the catabolism of amino-acids, there can be little doubt that some are a physiological abomination, and that dealing with them by the glandular structure is not without a degree of unfavorable effect that in time produces visible alteration in functional capacity. It seems logical to assume that physiological well-being will be best promoted by the employment in the diet of proteins so constituted as to be transformable with little waste into tissue proteins.

#### THE THREE UNSUSPECTED ESSENTIALS OF DIET

The best analysis of a foodstuff which the chemist is able to make, determines the amounts of protein, carbohydrate (starches and sugars), fats and oils, and mineral salts that it contains. For more than thirteen years it has been known, however, that when a mixture of these substances, each carefully purified, is fed to a young animal, the latter cannot grow or live long. The reason was very difficult to ascertain, for it is due to the lack of certain substances of a moderately unstable nature, the existence of which, as we have pointed out, was not even suspected. Certain species of animals, such as the rat, appear to require, in addition to the long recognized dietary complexes, but two of the unidentified dietary essentials. The most common designation of these is perhaps the term "vitamin," which includes fat-soluble A and water-soluble B. No less than twenty-five names have been invented

for these substances. Other species of animals, such as man, guinea-pig and monkey, require three, the additional substance being called water-soluble C. These terms have been applied provisionally, pending the discovery of the chemical natures of these interesting substances.

It is interesting to consider the distribution of the three unknown substances that the diet must contain. The substance, fat-soluble A, is found in butter fat and egg yolk fats, and in the fats from the interior of the cells of the glandular organs of animals, *e.g.*, the liver and kidney, in greater abundance than in any other foods. Leaves of plants constitute the next important source. The seeds, tubers and fleshy roots are all relatively poor in this substance. It has been suggested that among the latter those which contain yellow pigment are richest.

The water-soluble B dietary factor is widely distributed among natural foodstuffs. The only common foods lacking in it are polished rice, the sugars and starches, and the fats and oils from both animal and vegetable sources. Food containing small quantities of it are: white flour, degerminated cornmeal, macaroni, spaghetti and other products prepared principally from bolted wheat flour. All whole seed products, tubers and fleshy roots, leafy foods, milk and eggs contain it in relative abundance. Muscle cuts of meats are very poor in it, but the glandular organs contain it in abundance.

The water-soluble C is abundant only in fresh vegetables, fruits and fresh milk from cows in pasture. Cooked and dried foods have in great measure lost their peculiar dietary properties with respect to this substance.

The effects of specific starvation from one or another of these three



substances are of special interest. Each of them is necessary in the diet in order to prevent the development of a specific syndrome of what we call, collectively, deficiency diseases.

One of the so-called deficiency diseases, which is caused by a lack of fat-soluble A in the diet, is characterized by changes in the eyes, in which edema, inflammation and, in some cases, perforation are the most important. Much remains to be learned regarding the histology and pathology of starvation for this dietary complex. Without it, growth is impossible and death soon intervenes. There is much evidence that a lack of a sufficient amount of fat-soluble A is one of the factors associated with the etiology of rickets.

A lack, either relative or absolute, of the second dietary factor of unknown chemical nature, water-soluble B, leads to the development of a condition of polyneuritis which in man is known as beri-beri. Paralysis is the most striking general feature of the disease. The third of the dietary complexes under consideration is that which prevents the development of the syndrome of scurvy. It is the least stable of the three. The anti-neuritic substance is the most stable.

For several years the three substances just discussed have in the popular mind overshadowed in importance the long recognized dietary essentials. It should be emphasized that there is no basis in fact for considering them any more important than the proteins or than one of the essential mineral elements. All are indispensable components of the diet and are, therefore, of essentially equal importance. Any appraisal of the quality of a diet must include a consideration of the quality and quantity of protein; the content of each of the necessary mineral elements; the con-

tent of each of the substances concerned with the etiology of the deficiency diseases, and the availability of the carbohydrates.

#### DIETARY PROPERTIES OF OUR NATURAL FOODSTUFFS

After the factors which operate to make a diet complete and satisfactory were appreciated, a series of studies was carried out with a view to determining the nature and extent of the dietary shortcomings of each of the more important of our natural foodstuffs. In the light of these studies it has become possible to make certain generalizations of far-reaching importance in the nutrition of man and animals. On these observations is based a new type of classification of the vegetable foodstuffs, depending on the function of the part of the plant from which they are derived.

It has been found that all those parts of plants that have the functions of storage tissues, viz., the seed, tuber and fleshy root, have remarkably similar dietary properties and similar shortcomings. Notwithstanding the great difference between the legume seeds, such as the pea and bean on the one hand and the potato or turnip on the other, they have very nearly the same dietary values in certain respects. All of the cereal grains, legume seeds, tubers and edible roots are deficient in some degree in at least three dietary factors. All contain proteins of relatively poor quality; all contain too little of certain mineral elements, especially calcium, sodium and chlorin, and all are deficient in fat-soluble A. As stated above, there may be a few exceptions to the latter generalization in the case of certain yellow pigmented roots.

The leaf of the plant possesses very different dietary properties from the seed. The palatable leaves are alone



a complete food for those types of animals that have digestive tracts sufficiently capacious to enable them to eat a sufficiently large amount to meet their energy requirements. This superiority in dietary properties correlates with the special function of the leaf as contrasted with the storage tissue, such as the seed, tuber or root. The leaf consists of actively functioning protoplasm supported by skeletal tissue. It is the seat of the synthesis of proteins, carbohydrates and fats. It is the seat of active respiration and metabolism. The seed, tuber and fleshy root represent, on the other hand, packages of reserve food materials, with a few living elements. In general the structures of the storage tissues do not contain all the complexes necessary for the construction of living protoplasm, and are accordingly incomplete foods.

A similar parallel between function and dietary properties can be drawn in the case of the highly specialized muscle tissue on the one hand and the actively metabolizing glandular tissues on the other. The muscle tissue has dietary properties almost identical with those of the seed, tuber or root in all respects except richness of protein. It lacks calcium, sodium and chlorin, fat-soluble A, water-soluble B and water-soluble C. The glandular organs, such as the liver and kidney, are much more complete foods. Indeed, they have all the complexes that are essential for the construction of living tissue, and when supplemented with certain salts, a carbohydrate, such as starch, approximate much more nearly a complete food than would a similar amount of muscle tissue with starch.

#### SUCCESSFUL DIETS

Since there are closely similar dietary properties in the storage tissues of

plants and of muscle tissue of animals, it should be expected that mixtures of these even in considerable numbers should form unsatisfactory diets. In many feeding experiments this has been shown to be the case. Although it is possible for a young animal to grow on a seed, tuber, root and muscle cut of meat diet, its growth is never normal in rate or extent. It will always be stunted and will fall below the normal standard of performance in reproduction and rearing of young, and in span of life.

Consistently unsatisfactory results have been secured on diets consisting of wheat flour, cornmeal, rice, peas, beans, potato, turnip, beet, rolled oats and round steak. The round steak was included to the extent of 10 per cent of the dry matter of the diet.

This leads us to a consideration of diets that succeed in the nutrition of animals. In an extensive inquiry, covering twelve years and based on nearly 4,000 feeding experiments, we have succeeded in nourishing animals in an approximately normal fashion with but three types of diets.

It is possible to select carnivorous foods so as to secure a fairly satisfactory diet entirely derived from animal tissues. Young animals cannot grow or long remain in health when restricted to muscle tissue as their sole food. When blood, liver, kidney and other glandular tissues are selected, together with a certain amount of bone substance, the food supply is sufficiently good to lead to normal development. Muscle tissue must be liberally supplemented with glandular organs to make possible success with the strictly carnivorous diet. The carnivorous diet has been used by man occasionally, the Eskimo and some American Indians being examples.

It has been found possible to sup-

plement the seed, tuber, root and muscle meat type of diet with liberal amounts of the leafy vegetables and secure a fairly satisfactory diet. A liberal supplementing with leaf is required in order to make good the deficiencies of the remainder of the diet. This type of diet is common among the Orientals.

The third type of successful diet is that derived from cereals, legume seeds, tubers and fleshy roots, with or without meats, supplemented with liberal amounts of milk. Milk is so constituted as to make good all the deficiencies of the classes of foods just enumerated.

It is so important to appreciate the special qualities of the leafy vegetables and milk that I have been accustomed to designate these as the protective foods. They are protective because they are especially rich in those elements and complexes in which the storage tissues of plants and muscle tissue are poor.

#### EXPERIMENTS IN FAULTY NUTRITION

Systematic animal experimentation has revealed data of another kind which is of very great importance to us as an index to the importance of the right selection of food in the promotion of well-being. Such experiments have been undertaken at the author's laboratory to determine how sensitive animals are to diets in which the faults are of a minor character. Hitherto, emphasis has been laid almost entirely upon the "deficiency diseases," scurvy, beri-beri and possibly others, such as pellagra and rickets. The question which we asked ourselves was this: Are there deleterious effects of faulty nutrition caused by diets in which the deficiency is not of a nature or of sufficient gravity to induce a "deficiency disease," but which can be demonstrated in the

life history of experimental animals? Is the body immune to faulty diet up to a point of deprivation of one or another dietary essential where the metabolic functions break down and clinically observable effects become apparent?

We have sought to test this proposition by restricting young rats throughout life, and their progeny, if any, throughout several generations, to diets in which the faults were of a very slight nature. A large number of groups of experimental animals were placed upon diets which were of good quality with respect to all factors other than the protein moiety. These were derived from a number of sources and always from a combination of two wholesome natural foods, such as two cereal grains, two legume seeds, a legume seed and an animal tissue, *e.g.*, muscle, kidney, liver, etc. In every case the protein content of the diet was adjusted at 9 per cent of the food mixture. This was done because experience had shown that when the quality of the protein is excellent, this is the smallest amount that will suffice to meet the nutritive needs of the animals during growth, promoting growth at the maximum rate, and support approximately the maximal fertility, making possible the rearing of most of their young. If the proteins of the food are of a quality which might be classed as good rather than excellent, the growth may be normal and the fertility fairly high, but many of the young will be lost during the nursing period. Poor proteins will not support growth at the optimal rate when they constitute but 9 per cent of the food mixture, and the fertility will be low.

In this study we observed, therefore, the effect of a single defect in the diet, and that not of a very pronounced character, on the growth, fertility, infant mortality and tendency to physical

deterioration of families restricted to a monotonous dietary regimen. Observations were also made on the length of life, the age at which the first signs of senility appeared and the effect of the diet on the nervous system of the animal. These afford very interesting data for correlation with human experience.

It was found that a diet may be good enough to enable young animals to grow at the normal rate and to the full adult size, and support fairly high fertility, yet, solely because of the quality and amount of the protein which it contains, the animals may fail to nurse their young successfully to a state of independence. The young may require a nursing period of forty to sixty days instead of the normal twenty-five days before they can be safely weaned, owing to their stunted growth. This long period of nursing is entirely due to failure of the mothers to secrete milk of satisfactory character for the nutrition of their young, because their diet was not properly constituted.

If the quality of the protein in the diet is somewhat below that which would produce the results described in the preceding paragraph, fertility may be lowered, and the mortality of the young born raised even to one hundred per cent. The mortality is from two causes. One group of mother rats destroy their young within a day or two after birth. Female rats are, when well nourished, very solicitous for the welfare of their young, and among such there is practically no infant mortality. The other group will attempt to suckle their litters but allow them to die because of malnutrition.

It is a matter of great importance to have demonstrated that making the diet faulty with respect to protein, but only to an extent which does not

interfere with growth or with the maintenance of an apparent state of health in the adult, may profoundly affect the psychology of the animals in respect to so fundamental an attribute of the nervous system as the maternal instinct. Infanticidal tendencies in mothers in this series of experimental animals have been so common and so consistent that there can be no doubt that they had a dietary origin. We are now able to predict with assurance as the result of experience, that on certain diets mother rats will destroy their new-born young.

Perhaps as interesting as any of the results of this series of studies is the effect of faulty diet on the length of time during which the adult animals will maintain the full vigor of middle life, after their growth has been completed, on the experimental diet on which they are maintained throughout life. This may vary greatly. A well nourished rat may live as long as thirty-six months or, in a few instances, a little longer. By making the diet faulty in some degree with respect to the amount or quality of its proteins, we are able to make the span of life almost anything we desire. Rats can be made to grow at the optimal rate and to the full adult size, and appear to be in a satisfactory state of nutrition, yet begin rapidly to deteriorate as soon as growth is completed. Again, they may be made to preserve what appears from their external appearance the full vigor of middle life for a quarter, a third, a half or any other fraction of the extreme span of life which they are capable of living. When the diet is faulty they tend to grow old rapidly.

It is not possible within the limits of space available here to discuss in detail the many interesting observations on this series of experimental animals. This much, however, may be said in

the way of a general conclusion. Any diet which is derived in great measure from cereals, tubers, fleshy roots and muscle cuts of meat (ham, steak, roast) will never be satisfactory for the promotion of growth or for the maintenance of vigor and the preservation of the characteristics of youth.

#### CALCIUM AS A DIETARY FACTOR

The most important dietary factor concerned with human nutrition or animal production is that relating to the supply of calcium. Not that this element is any more important for nutrition than other indispensable factors, but there is much greater likelihood that the amount of calcium supplied by the food will be inadequate. One hundred grams of wheat contain 0.040 grams of calcium. Our experiments have established very definitely that the optimal concentration of this element for the nutrition of the rat is approximately 0.640 grams per hundred grams of food. This means that unmilled wheat contains but one-fifteenth the amount of calcium which the rat actually needs for optimal nutrition. The blood and other tissues of all mammals contain about the same concentration of this element, and there is much reason to believe that the calcium requirements of man expressed in the per cent of food, are about the same as those of the rat. There are but two classes of foods which are rich in calcium, viz., milk and the leafy vegetables. No combinations of cereals, legume seeds, tubers, fleshy roots, and meats and eggs will supply a sufficient amount of this element.

No combinations of cereal proteins, or of vegetable proteins from any sources, are likely to prove of very high biological value and, since this is true, any attempt to subsist on such a diet would be almost certain to prove a failure. A strictly vege-

tarian diet would be very deficient in calcium as well as contain proteins of relatively low value, unless it contained a much greater amount of leafy vegetables than are likely to be eaten. It would likewise be deficient in fat-soluble A, the anti-ophthalmic substance, unless the leaf moiety were so great as to be excessive for an alimentary tract of the omnivorous type. It would, as would any diet from any source, contain an inadequate amount of the antiscorbutic substance unless it contained some fresh, uncooked articles.

Such a diet as we are discussing would be greatly enhanced with respect to its proteins by the inclusion of meats of any type. If muscle cuts were taken, the supplementary value to the remainder of the diet would be essentially limited to enhancement of the proteins. If, however, glandular organs were employed, as liver, kidney or sweet-bread, the content of the diet in fat-soluble A would be markedly increased. In neither case, however, would there be any increase in the content of calcium as the result of the inclusion of meats.

I have repeatedly asserted, during the last few years, that the white bread and other cereal, muscle meat and potato type of diet which is so common in America and parts of Europe, is causing physical deterioration. No animal can grow satisfactorily on a food supply of this type, nor can one remain long in the possession of full vigor after growth has been attained. Only when such a food supply is supplemented with liberal amounts of milk or the leafy vegetables will it prove satisfactory.

#### DIETARY FACTORS IN MODERN PHYSICAL DETERIORATION

We are now in a position to understand the reason for the rapid increase



in tooth decay and in faulty skeletal development which has taken place during the past century, and which has been hitherto inexplicable. There has been a rapid and steady increase in the consumption of cereal products during the last century. The consumption of cereal grains in liberal amounts is an innovation in human experience, for cereals could never be cultivated on a large scale until the invention of modern plowing, reaping and threshing machinery. Grass has always been the most serious enemy of agriculture, and only effective implements could cope with it. This is the reason why rice, which developed for a considerable period on flooded land, was the earliest cereal to be widely cultivated.

Not only have we come to consume ever more and more cereal products, but the modern milling industry has furnished us with more and more milled cereal products, such as bolted flour, degerminated cornmeal and polished rice, which are very inferior to the unmilled cereal grains in their dietary properties in respect to several dietary factors. We have simultaneously reduced our consumption of dairy products and green vegetables from the amounts which were taken by people of a century or more ago in many regions of Europe and America where physical development was most satisfactory. These changes are sufficient to account for the deterioration which we are now witnessing. Carnivorous man, such as the Eskimo, the Indians of America, the Lapps and the pastoral tribes of Asia and Africa, are highly successful in their nutrition. The Oriental, who eats very liberally of leafy vegetables, bamboo sprouts and weeds which serve as pot herbs, is successful—for reasons which we can now easily explain. The people of Switzerland, Scandinavia, Ireland,

parts of Scotland, Iceland and the Hebrides are highly successful with their nutrition because of the large quantities of dairy products which they consume. In England, parts of Scotland and many places on the Continent, as well as in tens of thousands of homes in America, where the meat, bread and potato type of diet is the rule and where little milk or green vegetables are eaten, physical degeneration has resulted and is further in progress.

In the light of modern knowledge of nutrition this physical degeneration may be safely attributed to faults in the diet of the pregnant mother which prevent her from doing the best possible by her unborn baby. She tries to nurse the child on a diet which does not permit her to secrete milk of a satisfactory quality for the nutrition of the child. Before the child is many months old it is shifted to artificial feeding, in which milk is modified by one of the many methods recommended by physicians. These involve dilution and adjustment with sugar or cereal waters, and provide a food which fails to furnish the proper relations between certain mineral elements, especially calcium and phosphorus. Cereals are introduced as early as possible into the infant's diet under the mistaken idea that these are foods of a highly satisfactory sort. Actually, they are not so constituted as to promote growth at all, except as they are enhanced by the other constituents of the diet. It is under such conditions that rickets and related skeletal defects develop. The concomitants of rickets are flabby and weak musculature, tendency to faulty posture, distention of the intestine with gas and general malnutrition.

Rickets has been shown experimentally in the author's laboratory to be due to faulty diet, and it has been

conclusively demonstrated that three factors are especially concerned with its etiology. These are the calcium and phosphorus content, and the content of a certain vitamin, which is possibly identical with fat-soluble A. When there is an abnormal proportion between the calcium and phosphorus in the diet and a relative shortage of the organic factor mentioned, rickets will develop. The great frequency of the development of rickets in infants shows how frequently these errors in the diet are being realized in general experience.

#### THE TEETH

But the teeth are a part of the skeleton and their development is governed by the same laws that govern the growth of the bones. The diet must be nicely adjusted or they will undergo faulty development. The enamel is put on the teeth before they are erupted. It is not deposited simultaneously in a uniform layer over the tooth, but at certain centers of enamel formation. One of these is situated at the apex of each of the cusps of a molar and from these points the enamel spreads until the several areas meet in the sulci. Here they must form a perfect union if the tooth is to be long lived and free from decay. Actually, there are now common defects in the enamel and it is often not sufficiently dense and thick to form a satisfactory covering for the tooth. Furthermore, under faulty conditions of nutrition, the roots fail to develop as they should. We thus form teeth which are vulnerable because not normally developed. The developmental factor is the most important one from the standpoint of preventive dentistry. It is of the utmost importance that a good dental apparatus should be formed. Teeth

of optimal development possess their own defensive barriers, and can withstand abuse without undergoing destruction by caries.

The idea of mouth hygiene and early repair of the teeth has been overworked in recent years. The slogan that a clean tooth never decays is perhaps theoretically true, but it is an utter impossibility to keep the teeth in a condition of bacteriological cleanliness. Actually, therefore, this slogan is false and misleading. Any system of preventive dentistry which ignores the developmental factor has a fundamental weakness. The real basis of preventive dentistry is proper nutrition of the pregnant mother, and a better system of feeding infants and young children than is now in vogue. The formation of an effective and properly fortified set of teeth is largely a matter of right living during the first five or six years of life, for after a tooth has erupted its improvement is not possible, or is possible only to a very slight extent. The critical time is while the tooth is forming.

I have discussed at length, elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the knowledge of nutrition which has been gained through animal experimentation, and also the results of an extensive study of the experience of man in different parts of the world with diets of different types. The results of these two lines of investigation correlate in a surprising fashion, and form convincing evidence that it is time that the sociologist and the economist as well as the medical man and the health worker, should awaken to the possibilities for human betterment which can be achieved through education in matters relating to nutrition.

<sup>1</sup> *The Newer Knowledge of Nutrition*. New York, 1921. 2nd. ed.

## Mouth Hygiene and Child Welfare

By EDWARD T. HARTMAN

Secretary, The Child Federation, Philadelphia

THE problem of the mouth is to possess a mouth which is clean and which can function, as it is intended to function. A dirty mouth contaminates all food taken into the body. Pure food, at whatever cost of care and money in its production and preparation, becomes impure food when taken into the body through a filthy mouth. To function properly the mouth must be clean and there must be sound and usable teeth and the teeth must be used. They must be used to prepare food for digestion and they must be used, much used, on hard and chewable food to develop the teeth, the jaws, the face, the skull and the brain cavity.

The mouth problem is a part of the problem of health promotion. Mouth hygiene is one of the items of a health promotion program. Like other items, each in its proper field, the broad aim of mouth hygiene is to develop and maintain proper teeth. This includes the preparation of food for digestion by the proper use of the teeth. For food which is not properly prepared and digested, decays in the stomach and intestines, where are found the best possible conditions for quick decay—darkness, moisture, heat. If, in addition, the food is mixed in the mouth with pus from pyorrhea pockets, with bacteria from decayed teeth, from food previously left among the teeth and from diseased gums, it decays the more quickly.

While mouth hygiene is but one of the items of a health promotion program, it is a big and definite item, and it is tied up with several other problems, such as prenatal care, nutrition

and infections of the body. But it is not a panacea. It must be worked out in connection with other health promotion problems.

### THE STATISTICS OF THE MOUTH

The statistics are well known and need not be covered in detail. It is enough to say that one may with difficulty find two good sets of teeth in each hundred children examined in our schools, including only the first five grades. If all grades are examined the proportion of good mouths will be less. In Stratford, Connecticut, five hundred and fifty children were examined and only one child was found to have teeth free from decay. And not only has each child one decayed tooth; he has, on the average, seven decayed teeth.

What is the meaning of this condition? Before the arrival of the civilized white man the Eskimos had no words for decayed teeth or toothache. They now have use for the words, just as we have. Tooth decay is largely unknown among the primitive peoples, such as in the north of Scotland, in Norway and Sweden, in the rural districts of Italy, and several similar areas. And the decay is attributed not to the power to read and write, not to the power to think, but to denaturized foods and to failure to use the power to think. Our overwhelming tooth trouble is due to foolish or ignorant parents and to the food manufacturers. It is due to the products and conditions of civilization, especially civilization's foods. Denaturized foods, haste, with its consequent faulty mastication, do not produce teeth.

## MOUTH INFECTION AND HEALTH

Along with poor teeth, decayed teeth and dirty mouths comes a whole chain of evil consequences, induced diseases and related ills. Autointoxication, a quite respectable disease, is in some cases a fashionable name for a body full of decayed food. Rheumatism is in many cases the name given to local infections due to pyorrhea pockets. Malnutrition is often due to the fact that the teeth cannot prepare food for the digestive fluids. The after results of a poor mouth, results which are not commonly connected with the condition of the mouth, are now well known to the leaders of the dental and medical professions. These results are so extensive in their various ramifications that they are beginning to form a great specialty in dentistry and medicine. They complicate diagnosis, broaden the range of treatment required and greatly add to the burden of curative treatment. They involve not merely a study of possible break in the enamel of the teeth; rather, as Fones says: "Today we realize that dentistry must concentrate upon the soft tissues, the gums, the pericementum and the pulp, for these are the tissues chiefly involved in permitting the ingress of bacteria into the lymphatics and thus in the production of many systemic infections."

The trend of the times is toward a toothless age. But progress towards this condition need not continue. We know, in the main, the precedent causes of most of the bad conditions. We know at least enough to make it a truism that if we further progress towards a toothless age it is because we are at the same time progressing in senselessness. We know that we can give up some of our bad habits or continue to give up our teeth. The unfor-

tunate aspect of the matter just now is that our bad habits have a stronger hold on us than have our teeth. There is a job ahead for every promoter of a health program, for every citizen worthy of the name.

The present and future welfare of every child is inseparably tied up with the condition of his mouth and teeth. Upon this, frequently upon this alone, depends comfort, appearance, general health and efficiency of the individual. Malocclusion alone, induced by faulty care of the temporary teeth, malnutrition, thumb sucking, pacifiers, etc., ruins the appearance of the individual, causes mouth breathing, prevents mastication and develops a secondary chain of results which are ghastly and inexcusable. Thus follows a round of difficulties in part hinted at and too numerous to be even catalogued in a short article.

Mental retardation, induced by all the conditions above mentioned, is so terrific in its effects on the individual and in its costs, direct and secondary, to the child and the community, that one would think mere knowledge of the facts would prompt speedy action. Yet there is probably but one city in the country, Bridgeport, Connecticut, which has made a serious attempt at actually meeting the conditions.

## THE SOLUTION—A PROGRAM

As in all matters of health promotion, the development of a program has come in backwards. Dental surgery, a means of patching up bad teeth to do as well as they may, has made great progress, nowhere more than in America. The developments of the past twenty years speak volumes for the ability and the earnestness of the leaders of the dental profession. And the work has been ably seconded by leaders in the medical profession.

But dental surgery is devoted to



cure. It does not and cannot, alone, promote good teeth. It should be in the nature of a supplementary activity to a program for promoting healthy mouths. There are less than fifty thousand dentists in the country. To pursue the course now mainly followed, using dentists only when the teeth are troublesome, would require the services of an army of perhaps three hundred thousand dentists and they would then be unable actually to get under the problem. We shall always need the dentist, far more than we now think we need him, but he will need help. With a right program the dentist could give the required attention to the sixth year molars, could treat decay in its early and painless stages and could function more effectively than we now permit.

The next item to develop was mouth hygiene. This is largely a preventive activity and its need is largely induced by failure in the fundamental work. Mouth hygiene is a development of the past ten years. In 1914 the first mouth hygienists were graduated. Their work, under the direction of Dr. Fones and of private dentists in various places, was so significant that the movement produced a complete revolution in dentistry. This change is only now in progress. Thirteen states have recognized it by making it legal for mouth hygienists to practice. Like modern dentistry, it is making rapid strides and will prove of almost unlimited value in the campaign for health promotion.

#### TOOTH BUILDING AND MAINTENANCE

Let us lay down as one of the fundamentals that right mouth conditions will be promoted most effectively by a program of tooth building and maintenance. Dental surgery is curative. Mouth hygiene is preventive, but it can easily be made constructive, that

is, by aiming directly at maintaining good teeth in a good condition. But the big item of the program, because the only one which can accomplish the task before us, is tooth building and maintenance. In this work there are three main items.

#### PRENATAL CARE, NUTRITION AND MOUTH HYGIENE

First comes prenatal care. This is important because the enamel of the temporary teeth and, to some degree, of the permanent teeth is formed in the prenatal period. This will be good enamel or poor enamel, depending upon the condition of the mother during the period of pregnancy. It was formerly considered normal for a mother to give up some of her teeth at the birth of a child. This was due to plain ignorance. The growing organism will take all it can get, at whatever sacrifice to the parent organism. But it is possible to rob the mother and still not supply the needs of the growing child. Prenatal care is therefore imperative to the welfare of the mother and child. Every child has a right to be born fit. No mother should suffer abnormal injury through giving birth to a child. Right conditions at birth go a long way in solving the problems of child welfare and promoting the interests of the individual.

Then comes the item of nutrition. Having started the teeth in the right way, the next thing is to keep them growing properly in every way until they are fully formed. This is largely a problem of nutrition. So nearly is it a problem of nutrition that if we were to solve the nutrition problem we should be a long way on the road to a solution of the tooth problem. But nutrition depends upon the condition of the teeth. Without good teeth the individual cannot prepare food for digestion. So here we have two in-

separable problems. To promote one and ignore the other, is to fail.

Free sugar and starch form the base of the tooth problem from the nutritional standpoint and on the negative side. Lactic acid, the destroyer of enamel, comes from sugar and from starch converted into dextrose. On the positive side, the development of the teeth depends upon a "well balanced diet, with special emphasis on the calcium content foods."

Mouth hygiene, which includes the prophylactic processes plus full instruction in regard to the care of the mouth, as well as instruction as to foods which will produce teeth and warning against foods which destroy teeth, is imperative in both the constructive and remedial campaigns and is, or should be, within itself both constructive and preventive. It forms the great bridge which will lead us from the present morass of difficulties to the solid ground of right living which will mean good teeth, first, last and between.

We shall probably never use enough of the foods which polish the teeth. So the hygienist must polish them, thus keeping them free from the bacteria plaques which start decay. The hygienist must remove the tartar or teach us to avoid, when someone finds what they are, the foods which produce it. And he must teach us, always teach us, till we reach that position where we individually feed ourselves and our children with the same care used in feeding cattle or in supplying automobiles with fuel and oil. We keep function in mind in every case except when feeding (and clothing) ourselves.

The profession of mouth hygiene offers a field of usefulness hardly sur-

passed among the professions. Its importance cannot be overstated. Its significance grows upon us from day to day as we study the situation in which we find ourselves and the possibilities of mouth hygiene as a remedy.

We have poor teeth and we know the cause. We know that to promote tooth health is cheaper and more effective than cure. We know that we will not be able to provide and maintain enough dentists to care for the problem by curative processes. There are those who insist that the tooth problem, as it now faces us, is more serious, responsible for more ills, than was liquor before prohibition. We also know that the tooth problem is tied up with our food habits and that food habits are as difficult to change as other habits. They are perhaps more difficult, for, while it is a besotting crime in the eyes of many to poison the body with whiskey, it is not so considered when we fill the stomach with food doomed only to decay and thus to ruin health. And we have to eat.

Let us keep in mind, therefore, the seriousness of the problem and the need for action by parents, teachers, dentists, hygienists, doctors, the press; by everyone who forms a contact and who would claim to influence people. For if the influence springing from a contact is not good, it is nothing or it is bad. Who is going to claim the right of a contact, which is also an opportunity, when it produces only harm?

Mouth hygiene deals with the care and use of the mouth and the teeth. Its progress during ten years gives it a distinct and permanent field. To those who will deal with mouth hygiene in its broader aspects there is no more useful field for work.

## Some Aspects of the Mental Hygiene of the Child

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THE physical hygiene of the child has been studied and applied with much success by mothers and nurses for the last two or three decades. What modern mother would think of bringing up her child without Holt, Kerley or Griffiths at her right hand and a scale and sterilizer at her left. "Of making of books there is no end," and the number about the care of the body of the child make of the Biblical Jew who said it not only a sage but a prophet.

After the child has from birth been weighed and measured, accurately and regularly, fed on a scientifically prepared diet, bathed, exercised and given an open air sleeping porch, there often is vast disappointment that its behavior is not the fine flowering of so much conscientious effort.

If care and attention to the child's bodily needs were all that were necessary, then wealthy and intelligent parents should bring forth perfect children. Airy nurseries, big gardens, visits to the country or seaside, trained baby nurses, governesses and specialists, every advantage that money can buy, do not always achieve success. The child is not happy; its sleep is restless; it is irritable and moody; it has a bad disposition; it does not "behave," *ad infinitum*.

The problem of physical care has been practically worked out for the average normal child. The rapid growth in variety and extent of function, both intrinsic and extrinsic, that accompanies the rapid growth of the body is often lost sight of in the intense interest in the purely physical aspect of the child's development.

### THE NEWER INTEREST IN BEHAVIOR

Interest today is beginning to be directed toward the child's behavior and the strength of that interest is manifested by the growing number of men and women who are reading and studying human behavior or psychology. From this viewpoint the child must be looked upon as a dynamic engine whose behavior can theoretically be divided into two fields, that of its interaction with its environment and that of its interaction within itself. The interaction with the environment makes up the larger part of the study of psychology; the interaction within itself is the field of hygiene and physiology and, as has been noted, is fairly well covered.

Naturally, these fields are not separate and the division made is purely for practical purposes. In reality every internal interaction has its influence on and takes part in an environmental interaction. The child's organism is so sensitive that fatigue and irritability are produced by causes which to us may appear extraordinarily trivial. The happy hours of childhood are often a myth. To our relatively crude adult minds the child's life is made up of bathing, dressing, walking, eating, playing and sleeping. It is not in these activities that the source of the child's unhappiness is usually to be found. It lies in the behavior of the parents or nurse, their relationship to the child, their actions and words. It is the tone of their voices, the very thoughts that pass through their minds and which show themselves so plainly to the sensitive mind of the child, that bring about its bad behavior.

Compare the behavior, happy or otherwise, of the child with adults, to that of the child at work making mud pies, block houses, a dam in a gutter. Here you can observe persistence, patience, application, complete abandon, utter lack of consciousness of self or anything but the matter in hand. Creative intelligence is at work here with new things being born into the world, and new functions and qualities being built up in the child.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

It has been possible to curb in a child of three and one-half years of age, insomnia, night terrors, irritability, recurrent attacks of nausea, vomiting and prostration by simply changing a ruthless disciplinarian for a motherly nurse. In another case, an eight year old girl ceased having insomnia and intestinal upsets when her parents were asked to transfer the acrimonious and bitter discussions of their differences to the privacy of their bed chamber and appear as well bred in the presence of their daughter as they would before friends. Conflicts between parents and between parent and child are always disastrous and harmful to the child whatever the outcome, be it victory or defeat. Victory in the conflict with authority gives the child an undue sense of power; defeat, an undue sense of helplessness. Both the exaggerated power and helplessness are memories which will impede the child's activities in later life.

Modern psychology, while it makes understandable much in the behavior of children that was formerly unknown, places a greater responsibility upon the child's parents and teachers and offers a greater opportunity for conscious and intelligent direction of its education. Given a healthy body, the conduct of a child is largely the

result of the success or failure of its parents or nurses as social individuals. Given a healthy child, crying and whining, bad tempers, moodiness at meals, undue shyness, timidity or fear, may all be reactions of the child in response to the behavior of its human environment. In this situation lie the seeds from which nervous disorders of the future may very well spring forth. The mental hygiene of the child is inextricably bound up with the mental hygiene of the adult, for children will always have to be brought up by adults. Dr. C. Mac Fie Campbell, Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard University Medical School, rightly says, "To understand the child the influences of the home must be studied."<sup>1</sup>

In all of this, one must not underestimate the physical factors but seek at all times to rule them out as the cause for malbehavior. It is unnecessary to emphasize this. More often a physical factor is sought for too long. Failure to examine a child for the presence of physical defects or disease is inexcusable. In time it will be just as inexcusable to neglect the psychological factors.

#### HEREDITARY DISPOSITION OF THE CHILD

Furthermore, the hereditary disposition of the child must be taken into account. Children vary tremendously in their temperament. From the moment of birth observant mothers note well marked variations in conduct and behavior in their children. One child is mild, calm, easily pleased; another, restless, irritable, demanding that his environment be "just so." Babies have unconsciously a standard of comparison that makes this world a difficult place for them whatever their ner-

<sup>1</sup>"A City School District and Its Subnormal Children"—*Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 2, p. 237.



vous organization. The life within the womb can be accurately described as perfect. It is thought by some that the organic memories of this period are the stuff from which all our ideas of Paradise and Heaven are made.

At birth, loud sounds and bright lights, new skin sensations of touch and pressure, cold and heat, dryness and moisture, pleasure and pain, together with the internal sensation of hunger for air and food, form a continuous stream of stimuli. Babies of "nervous inheritance" react to these quite differently from those of relatively dull nervous organization. Professor John B. Watson's experiments, which show that sudden loud noises, jars and marked and sudden changes in position are fear-producing stimuli, suggest the advisability of protecting children who have inherited nervous dispositions from such stimuli, at least for their first eighteen months. These experiments of Professor Watson's<sup>2</sup> on infants from birth to over two hundred days of age, indicate to what extent revision of our old conception of the emotional life of the child has now become necessary. For example, purring black cats, pigeons rattling about in a paper bag, rabbits and guinea pigs crawling over and held before the baby as experiments, all failed to produce the element of fear. They aroused interest or caused but slight attention. The same result, viz., lack of fear, was noted when babies were placed in a dark room, and a faint light turned on, presenting black cats, pigeons and rabbits in active relationship to the babies. The sight of camels, Shetland ponies, zebras, bears, parrots, monkeys, ostriches, some coming within two or three inches of the babies, also produced no fear.

<sup>2</sup> *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* by Dr. John B. Watson, published by Lippincott Co.

That children often are fearful of animals is beyond question, but Dr. Watson believes that the fear in such instances is usually traceable to fear-provoking actions on the part of the animal. We must, therefore, revise our ideas of the "naturalness" of animals as fear-producing stimuli. Again, fear may be associated with the dark or fire, the fear-producing stimuli having first been experienced in the dark or near the fire.

That it is a particular kind of action that produces fear is often illustrated from the observations of parents. In one instance, a mother discovered that her boy, after he had been within twenty-five feet of a passing excursion steamer from which emanated a sudden shriek, thereafter manifested fear whenever the fire engines passed his home, although prior to that time he had shown no fear with the passing of engines.

The task of mothers is by no means equal. Some children seem to be of such elastic fibre that quite serious faults in training sometimes result in little permanent damage. Others, especially the high strung and sensitive types of children, require the most delicate of handling and if faulty methods are employed, the damage at times seems almost irreparable.

When we know that the child has inherited a peculiarly nervous disposition, wisdom in its management is as essential as air. The nervous, high strung temperaments are often beings of great potential powers. It is your wayward, intractable, over-responsive child who often has the greatest potentialities for achievement. By keeping this hereditary factor in mind we avoid the unthinking criticism that is so often applied to mothers when their children misbehave. "Now if I were bringing up that child," says the proud parent of a placid offspring, "she wouldn't be so nervous." Just

because the child is more sensitive, more responsive than the average, the task of teaching it to adapt itself to the world, to be at home on the earth in a way that shall be satisfactory to it and its environment, means an expenditure of time and genuine understanding of the problem.

#### DISCIPLINE AND EDUCATION AS BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS

Two of the most difficult of the behavior problems in the care of children are those of discipline and education. What are discipline and education? Are they blind obedience and slavish imitation? Does our education and discipline of children tend toward the development of their powers or does it tend in the direction of our own ease and comfort? If the former, we must assist the child by allowing it free play for its attempts to experience, *i.e.*, to know and to use its environment. To state in words the principles and objects of education and discipline, is simple. To apply them, is a task that is engaging the attention of conscience-stricken parents and educators.

There is not a month in the year that the educational system in vogue, both at home, at school and at large, is not either proclaimed or confessed a failure. The rapidly growing number of experimental schools, the eager attention and interest received by every new idea or system, all proclaim the growing unrest at the inadequacy of our educational institutions. Dallas Lore Sharp in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1921, voices the bitter cry of the parent and educator at the failure of our education:

Books make a full man; it is life and nature that give him authority. But life and nature are little reckoned with in formal education. . . . Human nature is unique and not to be handled by machine. *It is active, a doing nature*<sup>2</sup> fit for unfinished

earth, not heaven, the earth partner and co-creator in God's slowly shaping world.

. . . Education is too far removed from the simple, the original, from life, and nature. . . . A poet is stillborn in Boston every day—killed by toys in place of the tools that make them, by books in place of the life they tell of, by schools, museums, theatres and stores where things are pieced and ordered, filmed, collected, canned and labelled in place of a whole world of whole things. . . . The educating process is started wrong and started too early. It should start with work. . . . Every son of God needs, if not a world to create, an earth to subdue. . . . Instead of allowing him to work we teach him to be amused. . . . Nature should be the teacher of us all.

Is not this in reality a protest against education by ideas and a plea for an education by action? The change is coming rapidly. Is there any university worthy of the name that would teach chemistry, engineering, physics, physiology from books? Are they not taught by action in the laboratory with books as tools of lesser importance. Is not that but an extension of the method by which modern educators are teaching the child?

The fundamental fact in such experimental educational systems as Montessori's and Marietta Johnson's is that the child is educated by doing and not by ideas. The first movements of a child are carried out in response to external stimuli of light rays or sound waves or as the result of contact with external objects, or they are restless movements due to inner discomfort such as hunger. At first there is no knowledge of distance and its reach is but poorly adjusted to that for which it reaches. Gradually it learns to become skillful and once it reaches a point of precision, one can well imagine that life becomes for it a daily discovery of innumerable new objects and functions, all having innumerable new

<sup>2</sup> Italics my own.

graduations and compounds of the sensations of weight and touch, of heat and cold, of distance and color, of comfort and discomfort, of pain and pleasure, felt not only by the skin of its hands, but also by lips and tongue, by eyes and ears. The child is not content with touching and manipulating; it must also taste and once it begins to walk, its universe spreads out increasingly before it, and it grabs and touches, it pulls and throws everything within reach in order to get the joy of experiencing the world in which it lives.

Its body interacting upon environment compels the child with irresistible force to action and it is foolish, nay more, it is dangerous to attempt to stop that interaction or repress it. No doubt such a condition makes for a trying time on the part of its elders. The only wise course is to recognize it as a time of many trials and help the child by giving it freedom of motion in an environment in which dangerous or destructive agencies are out of reach—out of reach solely because the child is not capable of handling them. One should make the criterion of the things a child can play with, not the power of objects to inflict pain or damage upon it, but rather the common sense limits imposed by the child's ability to handle objects skillfully and in accordance with their uses.

The skill and delicacy of children who have not been impeded by unwise repression in their handling of themselves and the objects around them, is extraordinary. They will pick out an object, manipulate it and replace it deliberately and carefully. Madame Montessori and those who have used her methods in the education of very young children, bring enthusiastic and convincing evidence of the ability of children from two years of age onward skillfully and accurately to perform

many actions formerly thought to be beyond their powers. If this method is followed, the child, before it is two years old, should become perfectly capable of conducting itself correctly and with perfect freedom in an ordinary environment. It is only by knowing the properties of one's environment that one can learn to react properly to it. The possession of such a fund of useful reactions to one's environment can be called good discipline or, equally well, self-control.

If the parents or nurse are of strong character so that the child is dominated from the moment of its birth, it may learn to obey but the price will be its independence of spirit. Either a colorless, neutral individual results or there is a grave possibility that a neurosis will make up a part of the personality.

Ruthless and severe punishments for disobedience in the earlier years are a most prolific source of lying in the child. I have seen a number of such cases in which the despotic authority of the parent was exercised from birth and the result was not happy in any respect. A more common occurrence is the remorseless exercise of authority at odd moments. How often does a child disobey and, as it is said, "get away with it" only to find on a third or thirty-third time that, due to chance mishap in mother's life or father's business, he is ruthlessly and severely punished. Can one imagine anything more confusing to a child's mind than such capricious behavior on the part of his parents or nurses, or to what extent such punishments may rankle and sting with their residue of a sense of injustice. And if perchance the child learns that he has a weapon by which he can successfully counter attack and make authority yield to him, from that day his future is black indeed. He then becomes the ruler of the house-

hold; his slightest whim has to be obeyed and his likes and dislikes catered to on penalty of an outburst. So we see that the tight grasp of overpowering authority leads to the effort to break away, and failing, must produce weaklings and failures. This realization no doubt, is a bitter pill to old-fashioned parents. In fact, few who ought to swallow it,—will!

True discipline, that is, ability to act properly in a situation, is not acquired by an outside force acting as a rubber stamp. Genuine discipline is an organic function that grows out of interest and out of actions performed in building up interests and habits. Every interest in its development yields discipline; without interest there is no true learning. There may be word formulas, there too often are, but these are actively and purposely forgotten as soon as they have served their purpose, as in the case of passing an examination or averting the displeasure of parent or nurse.

Ruthless discipline as a method of inculcating ideals has been carried out by savage tribes as well as by imperial Germany. The result in the lower savages has been vividly described by the late Dr. C. A. Mercier,<sup>4</sup> the great English psychiatrist. Their lives, he says, "are lived in fear, in restraint, in submission, in suffering, subject to galling, unreasoning, unnecessary, arbitrary prohibitions and taboos and to customary duties equally galling, unreasoning, unnecessary and arbitrary." How often do we hear our elders proclaim in tones of reverent praise the discipline that must necessarily have forced them to lead their lives—"in fear, in restraint, in submission, etc."

On the other hand, extreme tenderness is equally bad. The indulgent and protective parent becomes the uncon-

scious ideal of the kind of environment the individual henceforth seeks. Dr. Walter F. Dearborn,<sup>5</sup> Professor of Education at Harvard University, says: "Too often the parent stands between the child and the realities of life. The child is shielded from life and protected from the consequences of his act. His life has become 'shut in' because the doors to the world of realities have been closed by too fond and protecting parents."

Gentleness is not taught a child by beating him. His voice does not become well modulated by shouting at him. All those qualities we would have him possess cannot be given him unless we ourselves possess them. "To train the child, the parent has to train himself or herself; true education must involve the parent much as we dislike to think that our education is not completed," says Dr. C. Mac Fie Campbell.<sup>6</sup>

That there is a new era at hand in which the customs and traditions of child raising will be subject to scientific examination is undisputed. As an integral part of such a program, the mental hygiene of the child will be the unescapable responsibility of its parents or guardians. The child today is too frequently brought up in a haphazard, unconscious way. The results achieved in the past were obtained in a blind, instinctive manner. A proper understanding, however, will know that all forms of behavior develop from the endeavor of the organism to get into relation with the environment; it will know that behavior is always some driving force of nature finding its way into, through and out of us, striving as it were to get its effect.

<sup>4</sup> "Facts of Mental Hygiene for Teachers"—*Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 3, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> "Nervous Children and Their Training"—Dr. C. Mac Fie Campbell—*Mental Hygiene*—Vol. 3, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *The Principles of Rational Education*, by Dr. C. A. Mercier.



## Childhood: The Golden Period for Mental Hygiene<sup>1</sup>

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THE outstanding fact that present-day psychiatry emphasizes is that mental illness is a type of reaction of the individual to his problems of adjustment which is conditioned by two factors—the nature of those problems and the character equipment with which they are met.

The first of these factors, the nature of the problems, we can dismiss with the general statement that any individual, theoretically at least, may break under the stresses of adjustment if only the stresses are sufficiently great. For any material, be it physical or mental, no matter how strong its make-up, a force may be conceived great enough to break it.

The second of these factors, the character equipment, is the important one for our consideration in this connection, for mental hygiene is calculated to reinforce the weak points in character while it may often be at a loss to change the nature of the problems which present themselves for solution, although both factors are proper subjects for its consideration.

A generation ago, psychiatry approached the various types of maladjustment from a purely descriptive standpoint, classifying the several disease pictures solely upon an enumeration of the symptoms. This was the period of studying mental illness in cross section. Later, under the influence of the Kraepelinian teaching, mental illnesses were classified upon the basis of their course and outcome. This was the period of studying mental illnesses in longitudinal section. Today it is generally accepted that mental

illnesses are only reactions of the individual as a whole. Pathological reactions, then, are only a portion of the total behavior of the individual and can be understood only after a sufficient analysis of the personality make-up has made clear how the symptoms are the outcome of a certain character equipment brought to bear upon certain problems of adjustment. This is the period of behavioristic psychology and interpretative psychiatry.

Mental illnesses, defects of adjustment at the psychological level, are therefore dependent upon defects in the personality make-up, and as this personality make-up is what it is as a result of its development from infancy onward, it follows that the foundation of those defects which later issue in mental illness are to be found in the past history of that development.

### ORIGIN OF CHARACTER TRAITS

The preceding is a somewhat abstract statement of what is found, as a matter of fact, in every psychosis as it passes in review in our clinical work. A study of the individual patient always discloses elements in the character make-up which have made for maladjustment over a period of years until finally, owing to some acute disaster or merely to the accumulation of stresses, the breaks or, in individuals more seriously burdened, the defects have conditioned a series of pathological symptoms which have resulted in marked and more or less continuous inefficiency. In other words, mental illnesses are found to be the outward and evident signs of intra-psychic difficulties—conflicts we call them—which conflicts in turn are found to be dependent upon

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 257-267.

traits of character that have their origins in the childhood of the individual. The capability of the individual for efficient adjustment becomes progressively weakened much after the analogy of two lines that start at a given point and pursue diverging courses. Finally they get so far apart that no bridging of the distance is possible; each pursues its own course independent of the other, and we have the symptoms, for example, of a split personality.

It is natural that character defects should first have attracted attention and been studied in those conditions in which the defects have produced gross and easily observable symptoms. A study of these gross defects of adjustment has shown, however, that the important etiological factors are not nearly as obvious as they were originally supposed to be, but on the contrary they are constituted of subtle defects which have been, often for long periods, quite successfully hidden from view.

The particular trait of character with which the individual has been struggling all his life—suspicion, cruelty, jealousy, timidity, curiosity, overconsciousness, etc.—the trait about which his difficulties arrange themselves, will be found on analysis to have been unfortunately conditioned early in life as a result of the influences exerted by the various members of the family or their surrogates. There is as yet no adequate appreciation of the continuity with which we express our effective states in our postural attitudes, our facial expressions, our voices, mannerisms, remarks, opinions, interests, aversions, and how subtly, half-consciously, often quite unconsciously, we read these signs in those about us and are correspondingly influenced. This personal world we live in is "not a world of formal thought

only, but more a world of feeling, and moreover a sentience so exquisitely fine and fluent as many times to be scarce conscious of itself and quite unconscious of its causal antecedents."<sup>2</sup> The child in the family is one part of an organism which is highly responsive to all that goes on in that organism. The influences which thus reach the child find it peculiarly plastic, much more so than later in life when the main character traits have become firmly established, structuralized.

All of this points quite unequivocally to the period of childhood as the golden period for putting into effect the teachings of mental hygiene. It is the period *par excellence* for prophylaxis and therefore the period, above all others, which must be studied if psychiatry is ever to develop an effective program of prevention.

These statements will, I think, be pretty generally agreed to, but in this connection I wish to refer to certain tendencies of thinking which I believe have operated against this enlarged conception of the importance of the personality. I refer particularly to the thinking which has been dominated by the germ-plasm theory of heredity and certain derivatives from this theory which have tended to the conclusion that practically all of our characteristics, mental as well as physical, are handed down to us by our ancestors and are something, therefore, which we can do very little about. The theory of the non-inheritance of acquired characters and the further theory that for every last trait there is a germ-plasm determiner has introduced a fatalistic element into our thinking which has made for a therapeutic nihilism by turning attention away from a consideration of the possibilities of ef-

<sup>2</sup> Maudsley, Henry. *Organic to Human, Psychological and Sociological*. London: Macmillan and Company, 1916.

fectively modifying the fundamental elements of the character make-up. In this connection Ritter<sup>3</sup> very aptly says that the germ-plasm dogma is "chargeable with the grave offense of having added its weight to a conception of human life the overcoming of which has been consciously or unconsciously man's aim throughout the whole vast drama of his hard, slow progress from lower to higher levels of civilization—the conception that his life is the result of forces against which his aspirations and efforts are impotent."

Even allowing that certain fundamental traits are inherited, that does not mean that nothing is to be accomplished in an effort to utilize those traits to better advantage. A congenital deaf mute does not have to give up all effort to communicate with his fellows just because he cannot do it in the usual way. A person may be from early childhood intensely curious. That does not mean that he must always use his curiosity in a socially offensive way. With proper opportunity and guidance, he may learn to use this trait to better and better advantage and may become a scientist utilizing his curiosity in searching out the secrets of nature rather than the secrets of his neighbors.

Apart from such considerations, however, there is much evidence that the theory of the continuity of the germ plasm and the non-inheritance of acquired characters, in fact the whole subject of heredity, will have to be materially modified, particularly as it relates to those mental traits that we are accustomed to observe in our fellows and our patients. Not only are certain biologists beginning to think of the germ plasm as being a part of the organism as a whole rather than as a

substance which is handed on from parents to offspring in unmodified form, but there is much evidence that mental traits, particularly those which later on make for defects of adjustment, precisely because these have attracted most attention, are developed in response to certain facts in the environment. For example, it is as logical to suppose that a son may develop traits like his father because he seeks to emulate him as it is to suppose that these traits were handed down to him through the medium of specific determiners in the germ plasm.<sup>4</sup>

If it is true that defects in the character make-up can be explained as originating in traits which were acquired in early childhood as reactions to certain factors in the child's environment, then the way is opened for an attempt to prevent such undesirable traits by an understanding of the child and a modification or elimination of those environmental factors which produce such results. For example, we all know many persons who are afraid of lightning, yet Watson tells us that in all the babies he has worked with he has never seen a reaction of fear to sudden flashes of light.<sup>5</sup>

If the fatalistic ways of thinking engendered by the theories of heredity can be put aside, then we find another reason for considering that the period of childhood offers the golden opportunity for mental hygiene and for realizing that this is the period upon which

<sup>4</sup>See discussion of heredity in my *Mental Hygiene of Childhood*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1919.

<sup>5</sup>On the other hand, he tells us that loud noises will produce the reaction of fear in very young children. As the lightning is usually followed by thunder, the flash itself is soon reacted to by fear on the principle of the conditioned reflex. John B. Watson: *Practical and Theoretical Problems in Instinct and Habits in Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918.

<sup>3</sup>Ritter, W. E. *The Unity of the Organism or the Organismal Conception of Life*. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1919.

effort must finally be centered in the development of a program of prevention.

#### PROGRAM OF PREVENTION

What are the points of attack for the development of such a program?

First, there must be a real understanding and development of child psychology. This development must be along the lines of behaviorism, a study of what the child is trying to do in terms of the child psyche. Here, as elsewhere in dealing with children, the tendency has been to think of the child as if it were a small adult and to project upon it those types of explanation which we as adults have found satisfying in our own personal experience. A behavioristic child psychology must get away from this tendency and get at the original data from first-hand observation. Such a study of the development of types of reaction, a study of the primitive instincts and their unfolding in the more complex reactions as development progresses, is of the first importance.

Second, an understanding of the nature of the child's relations to its environment, particularly its personal environment and specifically to the members of the family, is also essential. Its relation to the family situation begins from the moment of birth, and from the symptoms that later develop in the psychoses we have come to learn how important those relations are for conditioning the later reactions for better or for worse. The fact has too long escaped notice that the family situation contains within itself certain elements of a disruptive nature.\* It is as essential that the child should ultimately escape from its bondage to the family as it is that it should, during a certain period, be a part of that family

\* For a discussion of these elements, see my *Mental Hygiene of Childhood*.

and more or less subject to its direction. The complex interplay of these attractions and repulsions needs to be more fully studied as they express themselves in the symbolic mosaic at the psychological level.

And thirdly, a full understanding of all these matters must reach their application in education. Here again the effort has too often been to project upon the child something which we as adults may think desirable rather than to understand the equipment of the child and then try to develop that equipment in the best possible way. Education has been largely empirical and too much confined to teaching; it needs to be developed as a scheme for assisting and guiding the developing personality, based upon a real understanding of the principles involved and the equipment.

And finally, inasmuch as it cannot be expected that the child is going to acquire all this information and then apply it to itself, it is essential to develop some means whereby such information can be translated into effectiveness. The child is so intimate and so all-pervading an element in our social structure that any organized effort to influence it profoundly in its development must needs touch every part of that structure. The obviously more important points of attack, however, are the home and the school, of which places probably the home offers the least encouragement. The relations between parents and children are governed, for the most part, by crude instinct and it would hardly seem that we have either organized knowledge in a sufficiently practical form or means at our disposal to alter this situation materially or even to interfere with it on a large scale, except in a superficial way, with anything like a sure touch. To be sure, much can be done by the trained social worker, but this is usually in



cases where trouble already exists, and even such approaches must come largely through the schools. That this is so is perhaps unfortunate, for there are of necessity many problems that cannot be touched in this way except perchance through the family physician, who should become more and more a reliable source of information, advice, and strength as the teaching of psychiatry and kindred subjects broadens out in the medical schools.

Take, for example, the problem of the unwelcome child—the impregnation which was accidental and not desired, the months of childbearing endured without joy, the pains of parturition that are borne in bitterness, and finally the child, to be the recipient of all this accumulated feeling of resentment.<sup>7</sup> “What is the later story of such a life?” “How could it be modified to advantage?” are the immediate questions, but perhaps of greater significance is the query how the problem of the unwelcome child relates itself to one of the burning questions of the day—birth control and the use of contraceptive measures. Man’s anti-pathetic tendencies, as well as his creative purposes, are sublimated and refined in the course of cultural evolution. The viable child is no longer plunged head down in a vase of water—the germ cells are not permitted in conjunction.

The school seems, therefore, to be the most practical place to work for

<sup>7</sup> These remarks are not intended to apply to phenomena usually considered under the designation “maternal impressions.” I am referring only to the attitude of the mother toward a child that was not desired. Such an attitude conditions a feeling of inferiority which may be a serious handicap throughout life. A similar situation is produced when there are several children one of which is a favorite of the parents. In such a relationship the child feels keenly his inferiority in the family situation, as does the unwelcome child.

results, although of course a great deal of knowledge must be acquired about the child before it is of school age. Work of this character we are trying to plan in Washington in connection with a private charity which ministers to the infant, helping the mother during her pregnancy and the child for the first six years. Arrived at the school, however, the teacher becomes the surrogate for the parent and perhaps in many ways, not only by education, but because of emotional detachment, is better calculated to be of real service than the parent. If the teachers, with the machinery of the schools, are going to be of real value, it will mean that the education in the normal school will have to be broadened, the final result of which will be somewhat older, more mature, better teachers, better paid.

#### CORRELATION OF CHILDHOOD AND ADULT DELINQUENCY

All our approaches to the understanding of defective psychological adjustments point indubitably to childhood as the period when things first go wrong, and the indication is therefore clear that this is the period which must be studied and modified to prevent the failures of later life. A great mass of evidence has been accumulated which goes to show that serious breaks in adjustment do not ordinarily occur without the coöperation of some lack of balance in the personality make-up; that they are rarely to be satisfactorily accounted for by the influence of extraneous circumstances alone. This evidence has been accumulated from the study of actual breaks as we see them in our patients—breaks which we have come to look at only as end results.

The studies which have been made of delinquents show this very well indeed—for example, the young man who has finally come to a long-term

sentence in prison will almost invariably show, if a careful survey of his past life is made, a long series of conduct anomalies which make the final outcome not only understandable, but often quite inevitable. I have in mind a recent case that came under my observation. A negro ran amuck, broke into several dwellings, and in one shot and killed a young woman. He was convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to be hanged. A behavioristic survey of this man disclosed the fact that he had shown traits of lack of control, impulsive and irresponsible conduct from his early youth, that he early began to drink and to take drugs, that he had been arrested and served sentences upon many occasions for both major and minor offenses, that there was all through his career a tendency to indulge in acts of violence and acts that were calculated to jeopardize the safety and the lives of others. The final homicide was the logical outcome of such a career, and at this late date execution seems rather a confession of impotence in dealing with this anti-social problem. No really intelligent plan had ever been brought to bear upon the problem he presented, but he was allowed to pursue his course to its logical outcome; whereupon society washed its hands of him finally and for all time. From the standpoint of responsibility, it might well be questioned which was the more responsible—the society that permitted all this or the defective youth who went his way.

One of the most important issues in mental hygiene, then, as I see it, is to correlate the sick adult with the knowledge we have that his illness is traceable in its beginnings to his early life. I have already indicated that this must be done by a more developed knowledge of the psychology of childhood, which is reflected in the home, in the

school, and in the principles and methods of education. While all of this is true, we need not to lose sight of the fact that much work which is at present being carried on involves mental hygiene by implications, some very direct. Such work as the Child Bureau is doing in attempting to determine the minimum requirements of food, clothing, wages, etc., is obviously important. We must first have a live child if we are to have any problem at all. Efforts to improve the environment, even with reference to such obvious features as food, clothes, and ordinary sanitation, however, are not lacking in their general effect upon the mind of the developing child.

Recent observations in the devastated countries of Europe have shown how quickly destitution, which takes all the joy out of life, is reflected in the mental make-up of the children. Here also come in such problems as the care of the pregnant woman, child labor, sex education, school sanitation, and more specifically the problems of the atypical child and juvenile delinquency, all of which can be better dealt with in proportion to our increased knowledge of child psychology, while such social problems as marriage and divorce, and, as already indicated, birth control, have very direct bearings.

All of these several factors will be seen to have their bearings when it is realized that the child is not a finished product, but the result of influences which play upon it from all these sources. It is a product of the past through heredity, of the innumerable elements, largely personal, of its environment, of its instincts as they work out in relation to that environment, of social and family traditions, and of the social standards of its time and place, and all of the various approaches indicated can be made more effective in the light of such knowledge. I am minded

at this point to compare the broad behavioristic program that I have indicated with the restricted scheme that is spanned only too often by the Binet-Simon scale. This scale, as devised by its originators, may be a very valuable tool in the hands of a skilled observer, but as the "be all and end all" of child psychology it may become quite as vicious in its results as the fatalism inspired by the false theories of heredity I have already mentioned.

And finally, inasmuch as many of the breaks, perhaps most of them, occur in the adolescent period or the period of early adulthood, it would, to my mind, be of inestimable value if some help could be systematically extended to the youth when, if he has not as yet broken, the symptoms of final disaster are quite apt to be discoverable. This might easily be done while he is still in school or college, if there could be connected with each such institution an adviser skilled in matters psychological and sympathetic and understanding of the problems of the young. This is a matter to which Dr. Paton has called special attention. I feel sure that such an adviser, connected with our large universities, would soon establish a large and useful clinic to which a great number of the student body would resort for advice and assistance in dealing with their life problems as they are beginning to unfold at this most critical period of life. It is of the utmost necessity that not only should our schools and colleges be equipped to offer instruction in any branch of learning desired, but that the individual should be consulted as to his equipment, his personal tendencies and desires, his difficulties and short-

comings, as well as his special aptitudes and opportunities. Unless this is done, the big educational machines will go on grinding out their regular proportion of failures. When it is done, those failures can be minimized and it may be found that not a few may profitably be turned away from a higher education to a life of greater usefulness in some other direction.

This is the sort of effort that is calculated to adjust the educational machine to the needs of the individual. Today that machine offers a fixed structure into which the individual is fed, to come out well or ill in proportion to his capacity to meet the requirements. The means I suggest would have the effect of helping to adjust the educational opportunities to the needs of the individual and would be a movement towards individualizing the student just as we have learned in psychiatry that any material advances in therapeutic efficiency must come along with a further individualizing of our patients.

These are some of the directions in which my thought is led by a consideration of the mental hygiene of childhood. If we are to produce a better race of adults, we must be able to control the influences which go to mold the adult character. A practical program in this field seems to me to be possible, and to offer a decidedly more workable scheme than an effort to go back of the returns with the eugenicist and control the material. The more we know of what can be accomplished with the material given us, the better position we shall be in to undertake the control of what that material shall be.

## Mental Hygiene Problems of Normal Adolescence

By JESSIE TAFT, Ph.D.

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"NORMAL Adolescence" is a combination of terms which may perhaps be considered contradictory. If by normal one means average and, at the same time, implies painless adolescence or adolescence without conflict, then certainly there is a contradiction. For the adolescence which occurs without stress and strain is too unusual to be called normal and if such were the usual thing, it would offer no problems of mental hygiene. What we are obliged to mean, therefore, are the mental hygiene problems that arise in practically all ordinary lives at adolescence, disregarding those extremes of mal-adjustment which seem to point towards serious mental breakdown.

If one thinks of human life as the continuous struggle of a segmental organism so to organize its various needs and interests with relation to a social and physical environment that it may go forward successfully, satisfying itself and winning social approval at the same time; if one conceives of life as the effort to strike a balance between a dynamic safety, attained by courageous intelligent action, and a static safety, which means regression and avoidance of action, and to substitute as far as intelligence permits, expression for repression, independence for dependence, objective for subjective, and concrete interests for dreams—then adolescence inevitably presents a crisis, a place where the struggle must necessarily be more aggressive and effortful if it is to result advantageously for the organism.

### IDEAL ADJUSTMENT

The ideal of adjustment, which mental hygiene holds before us, might

be stated in this way. The organism is able to coördinate its own cravings in order that they may be expressed satisfactorily and objectively in ways socially approved. This implies that organisms use their intellect or intelligence in meeting the facts of every situation squarely and work out their satisfactions in terms of those facts. They use no indirect, evasive or subjective means to escape the problem of wresting biological success from the world of men and things as they actually are. In other words, the healthy adjustment is the scientific adjustment, which controls situations by mastering the facts in the case and manipulating them with intelligence and skill to carry out the ends of the individual. It is never to be forgotten that the most important situations which the human being has to meet are social and that the facts he has to understand and work with for the solution of his problems are social too. The way other human organisms behave is as important for him as his reactions to his physical environment. There is no moral reason why the organism may not use any control it can work out, but, as a matter of fact, no thorough-going control can be attained on any other than a realistic basis. All other methods are subjective and illusory and break under the strain of living.

If the mental hygiene goal for human beings is biological fulfilment, success, objective expression of the great human interests, independence—in short, full grown adult individuality which faces life in a positive, constructive manner—then we must examine adolescence to see wherein it presents



peculiar and unusual obstacles to all young people in the attainment of such an ideal. Why should life become more difficult at that point and hold so many possibilities of disaster?

Adolescence seems to be a crucial point which tests out the wholesomeness of the previous development. It is the point at which the individual takes on two selves. To adults around him, he is still a child, when they wish him to conform to their desires; when he fails to accept authority and brings down condemnation for his behavior, he is reproached by the adult in terms of his age and approaching manhood. "Jimmie is almost a man. Doesn't he know a man doesn't do that?" But when Jimmie asserts his independence he is quickly delivered back to the unfree state of childhood. Inside of Jimmie a similar conflict rages. At times, he feels himself a free, independent individual who can go forth courageously into the world, leaving the oppressive weight of family authority and interference behind him. But there are moments when he seems so helpless and alone in an uncharted country that nothing short of his mother's reassuring presence brings any relief. Whether Jimmie will be able to keep his face turned steadily, frankly, courageously toward the world of independence and responsibility and slowly but surely deprive himself of the comfortable protection of the family and maternal solicitude, depends upon everything that has gone into the making of Jimmie up to this point.

There are two lines of inquiry we should have to make to determine what Jimmie's chances are and what his problems are likely to be: first, as to the development of his work or play life; second, as to the development of his love and sex life. We want to know whether Jimmie has carried both

his work and love interests beyond the subjective, auto-erotic stage over into an objective fulfilment as far as his ability and environment have permitted.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF WORK OR PLAY LIFE

On the work side, is he occupied for the most part with realizing concretely his work, or if you wish, his play interests? If he wants a wagon, will he cry, or sulk, or have a tantrum until his father gives in? Will he steal a wagon? Will he brood over it, dream about the wonderful things he could do with it, but make no effort to secure it; or will he apply himself energetically to some plan for earning the money or building a wagon out of home-made materials? How difficult is it for Jimmie to put his desires into effective action? How difficult is it for him to get what he wants in terms of the facts as they are, without evasion, anti-social behavior, or substitution of day-dream fulfilment? Moreover, one must ask how interested is Jimmie in work and play. Has he a plentiful supply of interests and have most of these interests definite concrete ways of getting expressed? That is, has Jimmie both the "drives" and the developed techniques for realizing them? Whether or not he has, will depend not on Jimmie alone but on the entire background to which Jimmie's behavior has been a response.

If Jimmie has been under a strongly repressive discipline, if all of his attempts have been discouraged or subjected to ridicule, if environment has limited too greatly his opportunities, if health has prevented aggressive or effective action, if some inferiority, real or imagined, physical, mental or social, has developed a habit of non-aggressiveness, a fear of attacking a new project, a hesitancy to go over into

positive action, a tendency to evade responsibility because of fear of failure or exposure of weakness, then we may expect to find adolescence producing the most critical problems. A child who has grown up on the subjective plan, who has never learned to deal squarely with facts or to win approbation by legitimate efforts, or who has gone into compensatory activities of an anti-social or auto-erotic character, has been able to put off the results of such methods of meeting reality because of his childhood. The family, even the school or the foster family, will accept many such bad adjustments without realizing how serious they are, as a part of childhood. With adolescence, however, comes a point, when life looms up and even the family cannot continue to protect the child from his growing years. He must begin to get the come-back from his habits of poor adjustment. The patterns he has been using will not work in a world outside family protection. If he has not been accustomed to finding active concrete expression for his interests, the sudden flood of new energy, the widening of the horizon, the social impetus that youth receives, will swamp his motor apparatus. He has no techniques developed and has not the habit of trying to develop them for every new interest.

These vague but powerful forces coming in upon the old situation are difficult enough to harness into actual achievement, even with the best efforts of adolescence. They imply the subtle, elusive, complicated techniques of social relationships and community life, the creative expressions of art through techniques which take a life time to master—the complicated processes of all the various enterprises of an adult world. They involve not only difficult techniques, but the willingness to free one's self from the

economic support of the family and take on responsibility for one's own living. There comes a tremendous fear to many young people in the thought of economic independence, no money to fall back on unless one is able to earn it. Supposing one should lose his job! No father, with open pocket book, to help out, no comfortable home to drop into when work gets unpleasant! When that realization is suddenly forced upon the adolescent, there is often real terror behind it and it requires a genuinely healthy, courageous habit of meeting the problematic situations in life to make the adjustment without evasion.

A very unstable girl of eighteen who has been forced to work since she was fifteen because she has no family back of her, resists work and changes jobs frequently but is obsessed by fear as soon as she is without work. She has contemplated prostitution and has gone so far as to go with one or two men for the sake of an evening's entertainment. But her fear when she is not working is too great to allow her to depend on men friends completely, and she resists the loose living unless she has a good job. Her dislike of work, her fear of growing up are so great that the necessity for working has been registered almost as a compulsion. Needless to say she also fears adult sex life and is held back by that.

This particular girl, whom we shall call "Alice," illustrates the adolescent conflict when there is too great a pull-back, too many obstacles on the side of normal growth. Her early home life turned her against men and sex because her father was an abusive drunkard, unable to support the family. Her mother put all of her love and desire into the indulging and spoiling of her daughter. Alice was taught to dress above her station and feel herself better than others. She was the

petted, adored, only child. Then the mother died, leaving Alice to an unsympathetic, over-worked old grandmother, whom the girl has never ceased to blame for her lost childhood and its pleasures. Alice submitted but never accepted this change of living. She never ceased to long for her mother and the delights of adoration, dress and pleasure obtained without effort.

Then the grandmother died, leaving Alice without anyone, penniless and with not even a common school education. Inevitably, she went to work without skill or training, hating the grandmother and even her mother for dying and leaving her to such a fate. She had never developed the kind of initiative and persistence that would enable her to get education by night work. She was not strong. She craved pleasure; she blamed other people and fate for every misfortune. She developed an evasive way of meeting every unpleasantness, every failure of hers on a job. Now, she is often late to work, she resents correction childishly, she is unreliable, stays away if she has the slightest pain, wants a lot of attention, has no idea of business etiquette. When she loses a job, the employer or a fellow employe is to blame.

Adolescence increases the yearnings for a home, for a mother to fall back on. The only other outlet she can see leads to the pleasures which mean sex: cabaret, movie, dance hall. Alice is afraid of sex. She resists the idea of marriage. What does she want with children! Look how her mother suffered and in the end had herself and baby to support!

So Alice is caught with no developed interests, no techniques, nothing to stabilize or inhibit the regressive impulses. When one talks with her, one gets the full force of the adolescent

yearnings. She wants to be somebody, to do great things, to be superior. In her good moods, she is overwhelmed with dreams of accomplishment. She pines to use good English, to be a real lady. There is pathos in her inquiry as to what you say when a boy introduces you to his mother, and how you behave in a fashionable hotel dining room. Such questions have an importance that is almost greater to her than the problem of how to keep straight sexually. Winning of social approval is an ever-present burning desire, but she has no patterns, no habits, no control over the daily details of the process whereby this is gained. When one tries to place her in a good environment with girls of a better class, she reacts with a deepened sense of inferiority, expressed in more open, boastful wildness. She invents adventures with men to dazzle these virtuous, superior maidens. The craving for pleasures and something to make her forget increases.

What one would do, if it were possible, is to hold Alice long enough to see her through the learning of some skill or technique in which she could be really superior and by which she could earn a decent living. The difficulty is that owing to the amount of instability she has developed, it requires almost constant supervision just to keep her in one place physically, as well as to hold her to the daily effort of mastering a hard task. It also takes a great deal of money to float this project for which no guarantee of success can be held out.

It is not strange that youth finds it hard to buckle down to concrete accomplishment. The urge of life is so intense, the dreams so quick and glorious, the actual process so slow. Dorothy, a youngster who by temperament and every handicap of environment had learned to depend almost entirely upon day-dream fulfilment, found her-

self at seventeen facing the problem of earning a living. She had not one single worked-out process to make her useful to any human being. She was unstable, imaginative, impatient, undeveloped to the *n*th degree. It looked like a hopeless proposition. All the authorities predicted ultimate breakdown and failure. One faithful worker, however, took her into her own home, provided a stable background and concentrated all her efforts on holding the child to learning one technique by which she could become self-supporting. There were ups and downs: she ran away; she stayed out all night; she made living a stormy affair for her friends; she quarreled with every companion. She had to be held down to studying her lessons at night by the constant attention of an older person. Her course in stenography was interrupted by absences and bad behavior. In the end, the worker on the case triumphed. The child completed the course and took a job. She had developed a genuine skill. Although her work record for a long time consisted of one job after another in rapid succession, the fact that she knew how to do one thing well, always brought her back to working and its possibilities. The periods of keeping one job grew longer, the upsets less damaging to work. Friends held on. After three years, when some of the adolescent conflict had abated and the growing skill as stenographer had begun to have its effect, we find our unstable girl steadied down into a well-paid, reliable, worker whose emotional upsets are understood and adjusted by her without giving up work.

We have been following the development of the play and work interests of the individual and trying to show how a subjective, regressive development, or call it a lack of development, if you wish, leads to greatly heightened con-

flict at adolescence because of the increased pressure of internal as well as external forces.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

On the side of the love interests, the development of social relationships which can be separated from the work side only arbitrarily, we find a similar situation. The individual whose love life and social interests have broadened progressively and have taken on a more and more objective character meets the effort required of adolescence to face adult sex and social responsibility with courage and positive striving. The individual who because of some inferiority, real or imagined, physical or mental, has tended to depend upon mother love or family tolerance, and has avoided the possible criticism of an outside world by shutting himself away from others and comparison with them, will easily find in adult love and hetero-sexual relationships, something too difficult to be faced. He will either desire to remain in the sheltered family situation, where he is loved no matter what he does or is and where as a child he can cling and depend and feel no responsibility for loving back again, or he will find in the world someone who will accept him on the same basis, and allow him to remain infantile or childish in his love needs.

Such a condition is, of course, often produced not by any essential weakness of the individual but by a combination of circumstances: an infantile or unsatisfied father or mother using the child in a selfish way to appease his or her own love needs, preventing it from growing away from the parental attachment as it normally should; the widow-hood of the mother forcing the boy to take the father's place and attaching his love for life; the handicap



of a long physical illness or extreme delicacy, reinforcing the ordinary resistance to going over from the certainty of mother love to the winning of hetero-sexual love under conditions of rivalry and possible defeat; the accident of circumstance which deprives the girl or boy of contact with the opposite sex at a time when the transfer of love interest is ready to be made and conditions him or her to homo-sexual or auto-erotic expression; the repression which puritanical adults, teachers, parents, schools, orphanages, put upon the normal hetero-sexual impulses of adolescence. When one contemplates all the influences that are at work to prevent the courageous objective development of love and sex, one wonders why adolescence ever follows a normal biological course.

Alice illustrates almost all of these influences. She is held back from maturity by the pull of childish cravings for mother love and protection. What she wants is not the objective adult love of one independent individual for another, but subjective satisfaction. She is not looking for the kind of man whom she can love with a real appreciation of his qualities and a sharing of his interests; she is looking for anyone who will give her the sense of security, the spoiling and indulgence the mother supplied. Alice seeks not a mate but someone to devour. She will consume her love object. She is not motivated by any dreams of home and children. Her hunger is for a pleasurable, care free existence in which she is responsible neither for work nor for love. Even on the physical side of sex, Alice has no desire for adult expression. She has all of the repressions which her mother's hatred of men, her father's behavior and conventional sex taboos could produce. Theoretically, she is as prudish as any carefully guarded

virtuous maiden, but her practice and her theory are as separate as the poles. Alice sins but she refuses to embrace her sin. Physical sex is a disgusting fact of life to which she yields because it buys the pleasures which are essential. Her conflict is none the less real for its inconsistency.

#### HOW TO MEET PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENCE

What can we do practically to meet the complicated problems of adolescence? How can we lessen the struggle or lend strength to the forward looking interests and impulses? If we wait until adolescence has begun, we shall have a difficult task. But granting that most of the adjustments should have been made earlier and taking adolescence as we actually find it, what is possible?

We can surround youth with encouragement. There need be no sneering superiority, no ridicule, no tyrannical authority, no dogmatic over ruling, nothing to undermine the confidence and assertion that are necessary to approach work and love on an adult basis. We can have young people as free as possible to develop their own interests, free to discover for themselves, to experiment, even to make mistakes. We can give them freedom to experiment in the ordering and control of their own group life as well as their individual interests.

We can recognize and supply the need of youth for interpretations of life, ethics, religions, philosophy, scientific and social theory, something general enough to be mastered verbally and used to reduce the chaos of a new world to a known and familiar thing: something to make life a safer, more manageable affair. Adolescence craves a unifying theory to use as a stepping stone from the safe limits of childhood

to a boundless universe otherwise too strange to be faced.

Parents and schools can see to it that youth is supplied with definite skills and techniques, that potential interests go over into action. They can show young people how to gain objective happiness in creative work. They can so equip adolescence that it will not be left defenseless in the face of an adult world with only dreams to offer. The family can reduce the pull-back of childhood by encouraging economic independence, breaking away from home, going away to college, widening the social interests to extend beyond the family circle. The parents can keep their love for the child objective and unselfish and welcome his growing independence and hetero-sexual interests.

Last and most important, if we are wise enough and grown up enough

ourselves, we can give the adolescent an interpretation of sex and human behavior which will enable him to face frankly his own cravings and inferiorities real or imagined and adjust to them in a positive, constructive spirit. Sex instruction as now provided in the public school is not equivalent to assisting youth to a happy emotional adjustment. Like Alice, one may know the facts of sex and hate them. Can we provide parents and teachers so well adjusted and understanding that they can take the adolescent at the critical moment and through their own courageous and positive attitudes show him the way, for not only does he need to face sex and learn to look forward to love and marriage, he needs even more to accept himself, honestly and frankly, to recognize inferiorities and abilities and learn the lesson of compensation!

## The Behavior Problems of Atypical Children

By FREDERIC H. KNIGHT, PH.D.

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**T**HE purpose of this article is to suggest certain practical methods of dealing with atypical children. In determining what is meant by an atypical child, we may approach a definition from the standpoint of certain physical and mental tests or we may reach a definition by a study of the child's career in the world thus far. The definition reached by the first process is as follows: An atypical child is one who upon examination is found to be seriously deficient in one or more of the abilities essential to social fitness. The definition reached by the second method is: An atypical child is one whose social reactions indicate that he is seriously deficient in that which ex-

perience shows is essential to social fitness.

For our purpose we shall follow Porteus and include in the term, social fitness, "earning capacity and learning capacity which contribute to self-support; temperament, disposition, judgment and common sense, which are factors in self-management, inhibitions of anti-social instincts and impulses which lead to self-control."

In our own work, we have given exhaustive physical and mental examinations and have paid careful attention to the social history of every child. The minimum staff required for the proper study of a child in our opinion is as follows: a competent social

worker, a skillful pediatrician, a well-trained and experienced psychologist, accurate observers, a psychiatrist with a thorough medical training and a director who should have the necessary training and skill to enable him by a process of careful synthesis to edit and combine the findings of the various specialists into what may be called a unified diagnosis.

#### CHARACTERISTIC BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS

In the great majority of instances children are brought to our Department of Child Study because they present behavior problems with which those who have immediate charge of them do not feel competent to deal. Upon my desk at this moment I have two letters which will serve to illustrate this statement.

In the first letter, we are told that William is seventeen years old, is in the junior class in high school, exceptionally bright, has a fine face and figure and is very courteous and considerate. He does not run away, neither smokes nor drinks and is apparently without bad habits with the exception of that habit which occasions the very serious problem that brings him to our attention. In the words of the applicant, William is just a plain, everyday liar. He will borrow money of anybody with no expectation of repaying it. He borrows it when he has no use for it himself and having obtained it will lend it or give it away. He will go to stores and get goods, and has no hesitancy in having them charged to his father or to anyone else, when there is no necessity for it.

In the second letter, we read that Martha Elizabeth, a girl of seventeen years of age, lies, steals, runs away, is disobedient, is insubordinate at times, is "queer," has marked tantrums, is cruel to other children, is retarded in school work and presents certain sex problems.

The problems presented by these two children are certainly serious and perplexing and quite beyond the ability of their parents to solve. These letters illustrate the further point, that children are brought to us because of the very practical bearing of their behavior upon their own welfare and the welfare of the families with which they are connected. There is very little general interest in any type of "queerness" which does not have a direct and immediate bearing upon social fitness. If there are other abnormalities in children which have no such bearing, they may be interesting as subjects of study but they do not concern us in the present article. These two cases illustrate still other features. In both of these instances, as in practically every case, the problem child previous to our first interview has been "studied" by relatives and neighbors, and attempts more or less intelligent and persistent have been made to correct the abnormalities presented. It is doubtless true that in the great majority of instances children have been bettered by the sincere efforts of their parents to discipline them, but occasionally it happens that fatal mistakes in discipline have been made and the condition in which we find the child is beyond any hope of remedying so far as our efforts are concerned.

The final fact illustrated by both of these cases is this: In practically every instance the problem child, previous to our first interview, has built up a system of defense and has persuaded himself either that the behavior which has led him into difficulty is really of no special consequence or that it is so common as to be expected, or is the fault of someone else. In the case of older children, even those with good mentality, it is often a very difficult task to discover the child's real condition and to make it clear, when such a course is

advisable, that attempts to rationalize misconduct are disastrous.

#### STATEMENTS AND ACTUAL FACTS IN THE CASE

However, after attempts to understand the child and to discipline him on the part of parents and other relatives who have done their best or their worst, the child at length comes to us. The two questions which are asked of us at this point almost without exception are these: What is the matter with this child and what can be done about it? In an attempt to answer these questions we turn first of all to a social worker. At her hands we require data which will give us a knowledge of the child's developmental history and, as far as possible, an account of all the child's reactions to its environment from birth to the present day. We desire to find out all that can be found out about the child's inheritance, for heredity still plays a part in a child's career, notwithstanding the fact that we have great difficulty at times in determining just what that part is. If it were possible to know all that there is to be known of a child's heredity and of his career in the world thus far, the data furnished would enable a competent psychologist more certainly and more accurately to arrive at a just diagnosis than is possible as a result of any system of formal mental testing without such data. We need, therefore, as accurate and complete knowledge of all the significant facts in the case as we can obtain. These facts are suggested by the terms—heredity, development and career.

At this point it may be well to indicate the wide difference which sometimes exists between statements made concerning the child and the actual facts in the case. This discrepancy is well illustrated in the study we have just made of a girl fourteen years of age

who came to us accused of cruelty to little children, untruthfulness and dishonesty. From the testimony of the school teacher, we got the statement that Julia had stolen a ring. In conversation with a foster mother, we were told that Julia had stolen clothing. Another foster mother said that Julia was very cruel and abusive to the little baby in the home. These statements are all in black and white, preserved in our records and further dignified by the term, "verified data."

What were the facts in the case? The ring in question, which beyond doubt had been in Julia's possession for a time, was a rather crude affair made by a child out of a five cent piece. One day at school the owner of the ring asked Julia if she would not like it and upon receiving an affirmative answer gave it to her. Julia found it too large for her but wore it when she retired and lost it during the night in the bedclothes. The next morning the original owner of the ring, not intending to part with it forever, requested its return and was told that the ring had been lost. The whole matter was then taken to the school teacher, an inexperienced young girl, eighteen years of age, born and reared in the neighborhood. Upon no data at all except the conflicting statements of the two children, this teacher reached the conclusion that Julia had stolen the ring and so recorded it and so wrote us.

The story of the stealing of the clothing was next investigated and it was discovered that only one article of clothing, namely, a linen collar, had disappeared when Julia had left this home. The foster mother had packed Julia's effects and had inadvertently put the collar in the child's dress-suitcase.

There was rather more to the story of the cruelty to a baby. The baby in question turned out to be a child be-



tween four and five years old, a husky, untrained, fractious little fellow, whose mother, failing to get on with him, had turned him over to this fourteen year old girl. From all accounts, the girl managed the baby rather better than its own mother, but resorted at times to corporal punishment, though not to such an extent as to injure the child in any way. The so-called "verified data," had been deemed sufficient to raise a very serious question as to the advisability of attempting to place Julia in another private home.

When our study was completed we found that Julia, while she had suffered much from her environment and from frequent changes in her home, was a girl of excellent mentality with a good social and ethical code, giving promise of attaining unto an unusual degree of social fitness, under proper treatment.

This case serves to illustrate, as I have said, the wide divergence at times between statements regarding the child and the actual facts of the case. It sometimes happens that the facts are very much worse than the statements, and at times the contrary is true.

#### NECESSITY FOR COMPLETE HISTORY

The necessity of getting a complete history of the child is well illustrated in the case of Henry, a boy of seventeen years of age, brought to our attention within the past year. The complaint made against him was that he was mischievous and inclined to amuse himself at the expense of other people. He was very fond of telling startling stories which, however widely they might differ in other respects, were always characterized by this feature: that the central place in the picture was occupied by the narrator. Neighbors dreaded to have this boy about and rightly or wrongly charged up to his account practically all the troublesome mischief done in the community.

At first glance the situation seemed to be covered by the explanation that here was an active boy without a reasonable program, who proceeded to fill up his time with such activities as occurred to him and whose tastes ran along the line of troubling other people. His habit of telling startling stories seemed to be explained by the fact that having no actual experiences of his own to make his conversation interesting, he exercised his ingenuity in inventing interesting and startling situations in which he always played a prominent part. For instance, when an aeroplane noisily sailed over our heads, he remarked that he had lost interest in aeroplanes; he had been up in them so many times that there was no novelty in it any more—the truth being that he had never been in an aeroplane in his life. A summer squall blew over the lake. He declared that he had been in the worst of it (though he had not) but that this squall was nothing to one which he experienced on the coast of Maine, where, during one afternoon, he, with one other to help him, pulled fifteen hundred lobster pots out into deep water so that they should not be destroyed by the fury of the waves. We recognize, of course, a somewhat selfish and wholly uncontrolled desire to occupy the center of the stage whenever possible. If one should wish to find a native instinct at the root of this habit, he might speak of the desire for approval and display which seemed to be developed to an abnormal degree in this youth. The necessity for inventing situations in which he is the praiseworthy and central figure roots itself in the poverty of the boy's actual experiences.

If, however, we had stopped here we should not have reached the very serious root of his difficulty. Further study revealed the fact that at the age of seventeen he was still in the first year

at high school, that he had not made his promotion clearly and fairly since he graduated from the sixth grade. He had been practically expelled from school because he claimed that he had sold a very large number of tickets to a school entertainment but could not produce the money for the tickets, the fact being that he had never sold the tickets but desired to have the glory of being a leader in that respect. Inasmuch as he would not produce the tickets and could not produce the money, trouble ensued.

It was further discovered that ever since his birth this boy had been the peculiar pet and pride of an over-indulgent mother. Times without number his mother had credited him with clever sayings and deeds which, as a matter of fact, he had never said or done.

The diagnosis in this case is fairly clear. The prognosis is rather dark. The boy is still his over-indulgent mother's pet. He sees no fault in himself, and in his mother's sight he is exceptionally fine. The case offers a good opportunity of formulating what might be called a psychological sequence. First, we have a native mental defect which is the central and determining fact in the case. Superimposed upon this defect is a long period of home life and training which could scarcely have been less fortunate, including, as it does, constant overstatements of the imaginary cleverness of the boy's sayings and doings, which have resulted in an utter lack of appreciation of the importance of truth telling and the beauty of modesty. In our opinion, had greater wisdom been shown by his parents, the boy could have been trained to a fair degree in the appreciation of truthfulness and modesty. The next link in the chain is an increasing unreliability and braggadocio, and the distaste for all serious work. The idle hands of a high grade moron easily find much

mischievous to do. The other social reactions in the case are precisely what one might expect, all the facts being known. The parents are well-to-do people who would not for a moment consider a new home for their child and who cannot be made to see the mistakes which they have been constantly making.

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE CHILD'S MENTAL CONTENT

After the formal physical and mental tests have been given, there is no part of the scheme of child study more important or more fruitful than that of carefully ascertaining the child's present mental content. By that is meant the discovery of such of the child's ideas as are fixed, or are tending to become fixed, with the emotions which are associated with them. The social and ethical codes which the child really accepts, although his behavior at times may be at variance with these codes, are of great significance. It is very important to get, if one can, the child's interpretation of his own behavior, for, after all, anti-social conduct such as lying, or stealing, or truancy or disobedience, may have a very distinct meaning to a child which is not all the meaning which appears so obvious to his seniors. Our studies here afford numberless illustrations on this point.

When is a deviation from the truth, a lie? A boy sees one elephant in a circus parade. Three days after the circus has left town he is overheard telling his playmates that he saw two elephants, and is promptly reproofed for saying that which is not true. At the funeral services of his grandfather held three days after this episode, he hears his pastor make this statement: "I see the soul of the departed attended by legions of welcoming angels sweeping through the pearly gates into the new Jerusalem." No one thinks of reproving the preacher for a statement of this

kind although it is absolutely devoid of truth. The minister never saw any such thing. If called to account, he would say that he saw it with the eye of faith, but he would be sorely put to it to explain to a boy of fourteen just what the eye of faith is. My contention is not that the minister should be punished for making a statement which has no basis in known fact, but that before the boy is punished for saying that he had seen two elephants, he should be given an opportunity to give his own interpretation of his statement. Possibly he saw two elephants with the eye of faith. At all events, he saw one more elephant than the preacher did angels. Under proper guidance many a child can give a better explanation of his behavior and can disclose more accurate data bearing upon his mental life than can be gathered in any other one way.

At least two mistakes are to be avoided when one attempts to ascertain a child's present mental content. The examiner must not play the part of the conjurer who puts the rabbit into the hat that later on he may extract it therefrom. In other words, the examiner must not suggest to the child's mind ideas which questions may bring out of it later on. In the second place, the examiner must keep a perfectly open mind himself until the evidence is all in. Otherwise, he will be in danger of forming a premature opinion which will make him desirous of getting either facts against the child or statements favorable to the child. When an opinion has once been formed it is quite natural for the examiner to discover data to substantiate that opinion. No part of the task of studying the child requires greater patience, fairmindedness, knowledge of the world and the ability to evaluate data than that with which we are now dealing.

We make no reference to the psycho-

analytic methods connected commonly with the name of Freud, not because we underestimate their importance but because the whole subject has frequently been handled with much more skill and knowledge than the present writer possesses and any satisfactory statement would require much more space than is at the writer's command.

Also because of lack of space we shall not present in any detail the work of the psychiatrist, but shall merely state that the psychiatrist's study of the whole field of the child's personality is of the utmost importance in determining the proper diagnosis and in suggesting treatment.

#### FINAL DIAGNOSIS

When the reports from the social worker, the pediatrician, the psychologist, the observers, the psychiatrist and others interested are in, the director, whose duty it is to edit these findings and to reduce them to a unified diagnosis, will find himself in the possession of a considerable amount of data of various kinds and of all degrees of importance. He must first of all diligently eliminate from consideration all that does not have a bearing upon the question of social fitness. What remains must then be carefully evaluated and interpreted. The relation of one fact to the others must be carefully determined. The diagnosis finally reached must be the natural sequence of that part of the data furnished which is thought to be of chief importance, or which has to do with those abnormalities which have contributed to the problems presented in the child's behavior. Just as the physician in diagnosing a case presented to him would not consider a patient's politics, his religion, or certain harmless birthmarks, but would make his diagnosis of pneumonia upon a careful consideration of data bearing upon physical

disease, so in the solution of behavior problems we must confine our attention to data bearing upon the nature and solution of problems in that field. The diagnosis is the succinct, comprehensive and definite conclusion reached by a consideration of the data in the field concerned. In other words, the diagnosis should, as far as possible, satisfy the just demands of all significant data.

A concluding word must be said in regard to follow-up work. It is most exasperating to expend time and effort in an attempt to reach a just diagnosis in a problem case and to suggest methods of treatment which promise well for the child concerned, only to find that there is no one available with

sufficient interest or intelligence to carry on the treatment suggested. All too frequently the findings of psychologists and psychiatrists have been placed in the hands of relatives or friends who either fail utterly to understand the findings or are unable to carry out the directions given as to the treatment of the case.

In child helping organizations of the better sort nothing is more noticeable and nothing is more encouraging than the increasing skill of those to whom is given the task of dealing with atypical children. Under the best conditions we have failures enough to keep us humble and successes enough to convince us that we are on the right track.

## Public School Provision for Exceptional Children

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**I**N the consideration of certain problems of child welfare we are apt to forget or to undervalue the importance of our public school system. Our vast aggregation of elementary schools ought to be regarded, however, as our largest and, in a sense, our most legitimate child welfare agency. Certainly the historic sanction and strategic position of the public school system in the American commonwealth make it the most promising instrument for the further development of public policies in behalf of a very large proportion of those exceptional children who because of handicap or other circumstances need a special measure of extra parental care during the years of their education.

A few statistics will convey the broad outlines of the national situation. The figures are rounded but sufficiently accurate for the purpose in hand. There are twenty millions of children enrolled in the elementary public

schools of the country. These children are provided for in over a quarter of a million of buildings with a valuation of two billions of dollars. The personnel of this vast plant consists of over a half million teachers, supervisors and superintendents, and, in city districts, of about three thousand physicians and school nurses and sixteen hundred truant officers. The welfare of no less than three quarters of a million of physically and mentally handicapped children is affected by the policies of this huge institution.

A complete classification of handicapped children would include all those children who, by virtue of exceptional circumstances or by inherent or acquired constitution, deviate so much from the normal as to cause a special status to arise with reference to their educational and social treatment. Sometimes the courts determine when the special status exists; sometimes it



is a matter of common knowledge; sometimes it is recognized only by experts; but in one way or another, the handicapped child generally comes within the purview of the public school system and educational law.

A comprehensive list of the consequential forms of handicap would include those of environmental character, such as abnormal home conditions, illegitimate parentage, dependency, neglect and injudicious employment; and a large group of constitutional and acquired handicaps affecting physique, sensation, motor capacity, speech, conduct and mentality. We shall consider mainly the children with constitutional and acquired handicaps.

It is, of course, impossible to set precise limits to such a term as handicap. The scope of our discussion, however, is indicated by the following quotation from a recent Connecticut statute.

The term educationally exceptional children shall include all children over four and under sixteen years of age who, because of mental or physical handicap, are incapable of receiving proper benefit from ordinary instruction and who for their own and the social welfare need special educational provisions.

On the basis of this definition I would estimate that about one public school pupil out of twenty-five may be regarded as exceptional, from the standpoint of child welfare and school administration. The distribution of such exceptional children per 1,000 of all children of compulsory school age, would be approximately as follows:

Blind and partially sighted . . . . .	3
Deaf and semi-deaf . . . . .	2
Crippled . . . . .	2
Physically defective . . . . .	12
Psychopathic . . . . .	2
Delinquent . . . . .	4
Speech defective . . . . .	3
Mentally deficient . . . . .	12
Total number per 1,000 . . . . .	40

If we give the term exceptional a still wider connotation, we would include in the above list two further groups of children: (1) Those who are not classifiable as feeble-minded but are extremely dull or non-academic and (2) those who are unusually gifted or endowed with superior intelligence. These two groups combined would bring the total up to 50 per 1,000. They are by no means unimportant from the standpoint of social and educational policy.

No one of the groups mentioned can be limited with absolute precision. A speech defect, for example, may be so mild as to be negligible or so severe as to constitute a real handicap. The figures given above are restrained and are intended to include school children whose defect or deviation is so serious as to demand special consideration even in a non-Utopian state.

A generation ago the exceptional child was not considered to be a legitimate public school problem. It was assumed—it is even now sometimes argued—that the business of the schools is to teach the statutory subjects (reading, writing and arithmetic). But the principle of compulsory education in a democratic country has carried with it implications and complications which have brought about an altogether different point of view. A policy of exclusion of exceptional children would have lead only to confusion and injustice. The public school in progressive communities is steadily shouldering the whole problem of defective and handicapped pupils, and one can find today examples of special tax-supported provisions for every type of exceptional school child.

It is unnecessary to go to extremes and to contend that special state institutions for defective and handicapped children are to be systematically discouraged. Such institutions have an important work in the care of those

cases who, for practical reasons, cannot be reached in any other way, but as a matter of public economy and public policy we should do everything we reasonably can to keep certain types of defective children near their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters. Indeed, there may even be good reasons for doing what England is doing, namely: placing small groups of children (like the crippled or deaf) in family homes located near public schools where these children can get the same sort of training which they might otherwise have to receive in some more remote central institution. The whole drift of legislative and social program is in the direction of expanding the authority and scope of our public school system in such a way that local communities, like cities, towns and counties, can take primary responsibility for the care of their own child welfare problems.

The present scope and possibilities of public school provision can be indicated briefly for each of the eight classes of children referred to in the preceding classification.

1. *Blind and Partially Sighted.* The number of pupils in schools and classes for the blind in 1918 was 5,386. About 9 per cent of these were receiving their education in ten cities where classes for the blind are part of the public school system. The first city school classes for the blind were inaugurated by New York and Cleveland in the year 1909. One or more classes are now maintained by Chicago, Detroit, Jersey City, Newark, Cincinnati, Mansfield, Toledo and Milwaukee. It is very significant that in a short period of twelve years, such a large proportion of blind children has been reached by the public schools; and that states like Pennsylvania, Ohio, Minnesota and New Jersey have passed laws providing liberal state aid for the education of blind children in public school classes.

Cleveland has been a pioneer in having the blind taught in classes with seeing children. The special teachers for the blind children are tutors for the group and segregation is reduced as much as possible. Since the blind must find a place in life beside the seeing, this Cleveland plan has much to commend it. This same consideration is a reason for the further extension of public school provisions. It is not impossible that state departments of education and commissions for the blind will gradually develop an administrative technique, through supervising experts, visiting instructors and training centers, whereby an increasing number of blind children from small communities can be educated under public school auspices. The fact that the per pupil cost of education in a public school class for the blind is less than half of the per pupil cost in a public institution will fortunately not act as a deterrent.

The education of the near blind or partially sighted is a problem which falls peculiarly within the scope of the public school. Surely it is not a problem to be solved by erecting state institutions, or by excluding the child from school attendance. The task is not a small one. The Massachusetts Commission for the blind found that 4 per cent of all school children tested had less than one-half normal vision and that four tenths of one per cent (one in ten of this group) were so seriously handicapped as to require special educational procedure. Special classes for partially sighted children are being established in several of the larger cities of the country, as sight conservation classes, and with very beneficial results. These classes should be fostered; but here again the special class has its limitations. More flexible provisions, more abundant materials, including large type texts, can be created to reach the individual child who in spite of his

visual handicap must be maintained in a regular school.

2. *Deaf and Semi-Deaf.* The drift toward public school care has been even more marked in the case of deaf children than in the case of blind. This is all the more remarkable when it is recalled that the education of the deaf is one of the most difficult of pedagogical tasks. Government statistics show that the number of state and private schools for the deaf since 1900 has remained practically the same throughout the United States. The number of public school day classes has increased from 41 in that year to 69 in 1918. The enrollment in these classes has mounted from 749 in 1900 to 2,482 in 1918, an increase of 231 per cent; while the relative enrollment in state institutions has declined in the same period from 89 per cent to 78 per cent.

This is a wholesome tendency. The care of the deaf like that of the blind should so far as possible be de-institutionalized. Whenever practical the deaf child should grow up in contact with the hearing child. Such contact can be supplied in the public school. Moreover, public school provisions for the deaf encourage the beginning of the oral method at the tender but favorable age of three or four, when families are naturally reluctant to commit to a distant institution. Several states now foster the extension of public school classes by special grants of state aid. This, fortunately, is an administratively economical as well as humane policy. The average annual cost per deaf pupil enrolled in the public schools was (in 1918) \$195. The corresponding average per capital expenditure in state institutions was \$399—a difference of over \$200 per pupil in favor of those communities where deaf children were trained to speak and to read the lips, without being separated from their homes and from the compan-

ionship of more fortunate schoolmates.

3. *Crippled Children.* Chicago in 1899 established the first public school for crippled children in the United States. It now maintains under the board of education a permanent school building for the exclusive use of crippled children. The New York classes inaugurated in 1906 now register over a thousand pupils. As many as eleven special classes for crippled children are maintained in one building.

The provisions for crippled school children in the larger cities often include school lunches and transportation. Sometimes the transportation is to regular classes. The per capita cost is not prohibitive, being less than that for the education of the blind and deaf. In Chicago in 1916 it was \$51 for teachers' salaries, \$8 for lunches, only 16 cents for supplies and \$86 for transportation—a total of \$145.

The complete and careful survey made in Cleveland in 1916, showed that there were six cripples for each 1,000 inhabitants; 22 per cent of all cases were under 15 years of age; 9 per cent were from 15 to 19 years of age. The age distribution of the blind shows that only 7 per cent are under 15 years of age. Furthermore, in only 26 per cent of the blind does the disability occur before the age of 15, while in the case of the crippled the proportion is 49 per cent. These figures emphasize the public school importance of the crippled child.

The solution of the problem, however, involves much more than the creation of special classes and provisions of transportation. Many crippled children need medical care over long periods of time. This care can be best rendered by a hospital type of school, which should, however, maintain close relations with the public system of education. Here again it is desirable to avoid so far as possible unnecessary

segregation or any tendency that would make the cripple self-conscious and dependent. The purely educational and vocational part of the task is one which the public school could undertake even in sparsely settled communities.

4. *Physically Defective.* This group is difficult to define. We include in it all children who are so seriously handicapped by malnutrition, cardiac defect or chronic disease as to be urgently in need of special hygienic arrangements in school. To place the number of such children at over 1 per cent is conservative. The number of undernourished children in an ordinary school population has been placed as high as from 15 to 20 per cent; and as many (to a large extent the same children) are considered to be predisposed to tuberculosis. Medical inspection, health instruction, physical education, nutrition classes, school lunches, home visitation, etc., must be counted upon to reach this large group of physically inferior children.

Open air rooms and hospital schools are, however, necessary for the adequate treatment of many children. The first open air school room in the United States was established in Providence in 1908. Since then, such rooms and open window classes have spread with great rapidity over the country, and can now be numbered by the score. New York alone has in the neighborhood of one hundred open air classes. Vacation camps and summer outdoor schools for physically defective children will undoubtedly be further developed as a legitimate part of public school work. The welfare of the physically defective child in smaller communities depends upon a close coördination of public health, medical and educational control. Much can still be done for him by special adaptations and supervision within the regular school.

5. *Psychopathic.* Although mental and nervous disability constitutes one of the heaviest burdens of society, almost nothing has been done by the public schools in the way of preventive mental hygiene. In 1920 there were 232,680 patients with mental disease, 14,937 epileptics and 1,971 alcoholic and drug addicts actually in institutions in the United States. A considerable proportion of all cases of mental and nervous disease are conditioned, if not caused, by factors which operate in childhood and youth. There are no convenient or accurate methods of diagnosis which will reveal those children who are harboring a latent insanity, or developing the basis for insanity and social inadequacy. Ordinary special class methods will have decided limitations in this field, but careful observation and guidance of pupils with psychopathic tendencies has, on a small scale, been successfully inaugurated in the New York Public Schools. The first step in the development of constructive school measures lies in recognizing pupils who show serious defects in personality makeup, symptoms of emotional instability, emotional shallowness, perversions, irritability, morbid fears, psychasthenia, social maladjustments, infantile dependency, etc. The psychopathic child is father of the psychopathic man. Once the significance of this type of child is grasped, ways and means for ameliorating his condition and forestalling its latter day consequences, can be found.

We need perhaps to develop a new type of school nurse, who by supervision, corrective teaching and home visitation will undertake the concrete tasks of mental hygiene. This psychiatric school nurse would be a counterpart of the medical school nurse and work in close contact with her, but she would revolve in a different circle of problems. Instead of pupils with



discharging ears and deteriorating molars, her clients would be the child with night terrors, the nail-biter, the over-tearful child, the over-silent child, the pervert, the infantile child, the unstable and choreic. There should in time be schools, classes and camps in close relation to city and state school systems, where children of this type may go for long or short periods and secure the combination of medical and educational treatment which alone is adequate to reconstruct them mentally. These provisions imply neurological and psychiatric specialists, educational psychologists and teacher-nurses, all coöperating as public health experts in a work of mental salvage and prophylaxis. From a financial viewpoint these suggestions seem extravagant; but only by such radical and sincere methods can we ever hope to reduce the massive burden of adult insanity. Expensive in the beginning, a preventive juvenile system of sanitation administered through the public schools, may, after all, prove to be a form of socialized thrift.

6. *Delinquent.* What has just been said about psychopathic children applies in great measure to the delinquent group. Both groups comprise disorders of conduct, faulty social adjustment, abnormal behavior and instability. The psychological and psychiatric approach emphasizes the close relation and sometimes the identity of the problems involved in both fields. Our increasingly scientific attitude toward crime is bound to reflect itself in public school procedure.

Cleveland in 1876 was the first city in the country to organize a school for incorrigible boys. A prominent motive was that of segregation and discipline. Similar "disciplinary classes," refractory classes and day schools for truants have sprung up in all our larger cities. Reformatories for boys and girls have

usually been organized as state institutions and largely independent of the state educational system. It is desirable in many ways that public school provisions for the delinquent be further developed, so that the number of commitments to reformatories may be reduced, and more timely preventive work may be done. A very considerable proportion of all careers of juvenile delinquency first manifest themselves in truancy; and a thoroughgoing interest in and study of all types of misfits and exceptional school children would ultimately lead to the reduction of crime. About one-fifth of the population of reformatories is, ordinarily, defective in mentality. Industrial training and supervised vocational provisions in close relation to local school systems would make it unnecessary to commit many of this class of delinquents to state institutions.

The public schools ought to function in closer coöperative relations with juvenile courts, probation service and industrial schools. The establishment by state law of the "Twenty-Four Hour School" in California, is a promising experiment, and may be an object lesson of what public schools, by modified methods, could accomplish for the delinquent without sending him out of the community for reform.

7. *Speech Defective.* Stuttering children are sadly in need of attention; for as a rule they are neglected by both parents and physicians. Only those familiar with the subject can appreciate how serious this handicap is, what suffering it causes, and what effects it produces on the more sensitive child. Stuttering is a disease, often associated with serious mental and nervous complications, but it is definitely curable and responds to corrective training. For many years European public schools have provided this speech corrective work and it is coming to be con-

sidered a natural function of the schools in this country, as shown by recent subsidy legislation in Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin and elsewhere. New York started a class in 1909, and has demonstrated the possibility of reaching a relatively large number of speech defective pupils by assigning them for portions of a day and term to a speech improvement class and permitting them to remain in their regular room the rest of the time.

8. *Mentally Deficient.* Inborn and acquired deficiency of intelligence handicaps at least one child out of a hundred. In some respects this handicap is more serious than other forms already discussed; but in other respects it may actually be less serious for the individual and less burdensome to the state, because it yields to social control.

In 1919-1920 the National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a survey of provisions for mentally defective children. Thirty state and 17 private institutions reported 26,774 such children; 108 cities in the United States reported 1,177 special classes providing for 21,251 defective pupils. We know that the number of cities reporting is incomplete. It is safe to say that the public schools of the country are supplying special provisions for as many mentally defective children as are now cared for by institutions. Feeble-mindedness is more and more coming to be regarded as a public school problem. Newark, Rochester, Boston, New Haven and other cities have demonstrated that it is possible to create, within the public school system, day schools for defectives which embody most of the best features of state institutions and offer significant evidence of the adaptability of our public school system. These special schools, and special classes as well, often provide for children whose mentality is no higher than that of the institutional

imbecile. Their chief function, however, is the timely training of the moron along lines which will make him more secure, useful and happy in his community.

Feeble-mindedness is of course incurable, and even the graduate of a special class may need to be sent to an institution; but public school training, supplemented by a system of community after-care, will reduce enormously the necessity of institutional commitment, and reduce also many of the classic consequences of feeble-mindedness: vagrancy, prostitution, dependency, crime—and more feeble-mindedness.

New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Missouri and Minnesota, all have laws making the establishment of special classes for mentally subnormal children, obligatory. In all of these states there is supervision by the state department of education, and in most of them some financial aid is granted by the state. Wisconsin bears one-third of the expenses for such classes; Pennsylvania, one-half; Minnesota pays annually the liberal sum of \$100 for each child receiving special class instruction. Prompt state-wide enforcement of compulsory laws is inexpedient; but the general policy behind these laws is correct. Feeble-mindedness is both a state and a local problem; and to a remarkable extent it is a public school problem. A consistent development during the next generation of the policy of public school training and community supervision of these handicapped children, will prove that the problem of mental deficiency is not overwhelming but is manageable.

#### HANDICAPPED CHILDREN AND STATE POLICY

The preceding review of the different types of exceptional children is neces-

sarily sketchy and imperfect. It reveals, however, a group of closely related problems of great significance from the standpoint of child welfare administration. It appears that the public school is a fundamental child welfare agency with vast powers only partly realized. Sanctioned by far-reaching law and by tradition, and founded on the broad, democratic principle of compulsory education, which carries it into the remotest rural corners, this great agency of the state must in large measure determine the future welfare of handicapped children.

There are several factors and considerations which favor the extension rather than the restriction of public school provisions for handicapped children, namely:

- (1) The principle of compulsory education.
- (2) The wide distribution of public school facilities.
- (3) The growth of medical inspection of schools, of clinical child psychology.
- (4) The joint relations of state and local authority in school administration.
- (5) The relative economy of public school provisions.
- (6) The disadvantages of institutional segregation.
- (7) The desirability of maintaining the responsibility of the home.
- (8) The importance of fostering local responsibility, and community control of social problems.

The social significance of the principle of compulsory education has been well stated by Cubberley: "Neither does the state establish schools because by state coöperative effort they can be established and conducted more economically than by private agencies, but rather that by so doing it may exercise the state's inherent right to enforce a type of education looking specifically

to the preservation and improvement of the state."

The creation of public school provisions for handicapped children represents a reasonable, constructive, self-protective extension of the principle of compulsory education. This principle has justified, in spite of initial opposition, the development of medical inspection, the establishment of school nurses and clinics and the certification of juvenile employees.

Public school provisions for exceptional children began through local initiative; but the states of the union are now framing legislation and organizing sub-divisions within their state departments of education, through which they will exercise their fundamental jurisdiction. Connecticut in 1915 appointed a school psychologist under the state department of education, and in 1920 passed a law creating a director of special classes. Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts and Wyoming, are among the states that have a special organization for supervising and directing the education of handicapped children.

The functions which naturally fall to the state in the public school care of handicapped children may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. To issue and enforce regulations regarding school enumeration and school registers, which will result in the reporting of all children of school age who, because of serious handicap or exceptional physical and mental condition, cannot be properly educated or trained under ordinary conditions. This would result in a simple form of registration very important for child welfare and social welfare.

2. To issue regulations and printed forms, and to render expert advice and assistance in the educational measurement of mental examination of handicapped or exceptional school children,

including children passing through the children's court.

3. To furnish similar direction and assistance in the organization of special classes.

4. To initiate and direct special educational measures in behalf of exceptional pupils who cannot be assigned to special classes, schools or institutions.

This function is of extreme importance and one which remains almost completely undeveloped. Measures must and can be found which will reach the handicapped child in rural and village communities. Through special courses in normal schools, special visiting supervisors, printed manuals, training centers, school nurses and circulating auxiliary teachers, a technique can be worked out which will remove the present neglect of the handicapped child in the smaller community.

5. To administer the distribution of state aid for special classes and auxiliary education.

6. To maintain general relations with all schools conducted in connection with special state or county institutions for dependent, neglected,

defective and delinquent children.

7. To foster and direct, as far as expedient, measures of vocational guidance and supervision for the benefit of educationally exceptional or handicapped youth up to the age of eighteen or twenty.

These powers are a natural expression of the relation of the state to children and to education. It should also be recognized that they imply a responsibility to handicapped children of compulsory school age who may be attending private and non-public schools or who may not be attending school at all. This responsibility must be carefully exercised, but it cannot be evaded. As in child hygiene the most primary necessity is a registration of births, so in the welfare of exceptional school children the most elementary obligation of the state is the enumeration and registration of *all* seriously handicapped school children. Through the school census and school register over which the state has fundamental control let us find out how many school children are thus handicapped, where they are, and how badly they need our help.

## The Visiting Teacher

By JANE F. CULBERT

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ONE of the interesting and promising developments within the public schools during recent years is the work of the visiting teacher. This work was introduced to meet a need that was felt alike by educators and social workers. The latter realized that many of the problems of juvenile delinquency, industrial inefficiency and other social maladjustments could and should be anticipated in the school. Educators were aware that even in

schools representing the most advanced methods of teaching with the auxiliary service of attendance officer and nurse, there were children who did not progress as they should, and that the efforts of the teachers were being brought to nought by undermining influences at work outside the school walls or by the faulty connection between the training within the school and the life outside. Too frequently, even, the home and school, through lack of acquaintance



and misunderstanding, have unwittingly worked against each other, thus thwarting rather than stimulating and reinforcing the best efforts of the other toward the children's development. It was realized that for the effective education of the child, as well as for the prevention of those ills of childhood—and indeed of adult life—that have made social work necessary, two conditions were essential: First, the school must comprehend the *whole child*, the child mental, physical and social; and second, the home and the school must be brought into mutual understanding and coöperation.

Someone was needed within the school system whose duty it should be to know the conditions under which the pupils live and play, and their consequent educational needs, to become acquainted with the individual child in his home and school relations, to discover handicapping factors and to bring about the adjustment of his special difficulties through the coöperation of home, school and social agencies. To assist the school to prevent later social wreckage, and make sure that each child's individual problem is seen and that his educational and social needs are met, the visiting teacher has been added to the school staff.

Those not familiar with school problems or the problems of school children have only to glance at the fact that a child spends but five or six hours a day, or less than 15 per cent of his entire year, in the school-room, to be convinced that the school cannot afford not to take into account how the out-of-school hours are spent, or fail to draw into effective coördination all the educative forces of home, school and community.

With the complexity of our modern city life, teachers may readily fail to realize the conditions under which their pupils live, eat, play, study and

work. With the large classes, too frequently the pupils are not real twenty-four-a-day Toms and Dicks, but just pupils. This should not be construed as criticism of the teacher. Lack of time and energy, pressure of class work, preparation of lesson material, after-school activities, often prevent teachers from knowing the homes of the children. The time consumed in large cities in long trips to and from school also constitutes a limiting factor. With the reduction of the size of classes and the lightening of the teaching load, and with the development of a greater social consciousness through the addition of courses in social work as part of the teacher's training, teachers will in the future, it is hoped, be able to do more friendly visiting and to become better acquainted with existing social conditions and their effect on the children. Even then, visiting teachers will be needed to adjust the difficulties and the limiting conditions which the class teacher has discovered through her home visiting. The adjustment of all but the simpler cases requires the technique of social work, as well as time for calling during school hours to see the mother alone, or at night to talk over with the family group the problem of the child; time for follow-up work, and, indeed, time to meet all the exigencies of the duties of a child's case worker.

#### THE RANGE OF SCHOOL PROBLEMS

The influence and opportunities of the school period cannot be over-emphasized. The school has now come to be recognized as the logical place from which to work for the prevention of delinquency and other social problems. In more than one city the work of the visiting teacher has been initiated by those who wished to push back the treatment of delinquency further than the children's court. The school has signal opportunity to detect symptoms

of child maladjustments as they appear in school dissatisfactions, poor school work, indifference, in persistently troublesome or erratic behavior, in rumors of undesirable companions or unwholesome interests, in apparent neglect, in environment or home conditions that are dangerous or predisposing to delinquency. Children showing any of these symptoms are referred to the visiting teacher by the principal or teachers, sometimes by parents or neighbors, or a social agency. In fact, the visiting teacher's major work is concerned with just such individual maladjusted or problematic children. The children who claim her attentions include those for whose failures and behavior the school cannot account, the repeater, the restive and the over-age, who are struggling for the day of their release into what appears to be the

haven of industry, the violent-tempered, the irritable, the worried and repressed, those who show tendencies to delinquency, the neglected or the overworked.

A study recently made under the auspices of the National Association of Visiting Teachers and Home and School Visitors shows that the most frequent reasons for referring children to the visiting teachers are as found in the table below.

The study further continues:

From this summary table it is quite evident that the visiting teacher is called upon by the school to grapple with a wide range of problematic children who need an intensive and extensive study of their individual needs and capacities which it is not reasonable to expect from the class teacher.

As they come under her care they fall naturally into two large groups.

REASONS FOR REFERRING CHILDREN TO VISITING TEACHERS\*

Specific Reasons for Referring Children	Total No. of V. T.'s naming this reason as occurring among their cases	Number of V. T.'s naming this reason as occurring first, second, third, etc. in order of frequency among their cases				
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
1. Maladjustments in scholarship:						
(a) Subnormality.....	50	11	6	26	7	..
(b) Retardation.....	49	11	31	5	2	..
(c) Deficiency in lessons.....	48	29	10	8	1	..
(d) Precocity.....	34	1	2	8	23	..
2. Adverse Home Conditions:						
(a) Poverty.....	48	26	14	4	3	1
(b) Neglect.....	47	17	19	8	3	0
(c) Improper guardianship.....	39	7	8	16	5	3
(d) Immorality.....	32	0	5	8	6	13
(e) Cruelty.....	31	0	1	6	14	10
3. Misconduct:						
(a) In school.....	45	33	4	8	..	..
(b) Out of school.....	41	10	20	11	..	..
(c) Involving morals.....	38	6	16	16	..	..
4. Irregular Attendance:						
(a) Suspicious absence.....	42	17	13	12	..	..
(b) Due to home conditions.....	38	20	15	3	..	..
(c) Half-days absence.....	37	9	13	15	..	..

\*"The Visiting Teacher in the United States," June, 1921. P. 25.

Lateness and physical condition were also given among other general reasons for referring cases.

First, there are those demanding a more thorough knowledge and understanding of the child's personality, and of the conditions under which he lives, so that the school may more intelligently meet his needs. Second, there are those needing some definite social adjustments such as a change in home conditions, treatment for physical disability, opportunity or wholesome activity.

#### THE APPROACH OF THE VISITING TEACHER

To meet the needs of either group, the visiting teacher's first object is to establish friendly relations with the child and the family, and to get what light she can on the child's problem. Through conversation with the mother or other members of his family, through informal, friendly interviews with the child at home or school, through observation of him in his class and at play, she finds out the important facts about his heredity, his early history experience, his home life, his attitude toward school, his play and companions, his interests and ambitions, his dislikes and his difficulties. From these she tries to discover the cause of the child's trouble and forms a plan of correction.

Sometimes the solution of the child's problem involves long and painstaking change of attitude on the part of the family toward the child. It may require a change of régime, a change from harsh to wise disciplining, increased supervision, change of diet and hours of sleeping, an increased interest in his success or failure at school. Frequently the desired result is effected by changing the child's attitude toward his own problem, through explanation of his conduct and its consequences, through encouragement and supervision, through substitution of wholesome activities for harmful, as, for instance, some stimulating form of ath-

letics to take the place of the excitement of picking pockets, or stealing junk.

#### COÖPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

Many times the visiting teacher calls in the aid of a social organization. The lists used by visiting teachers in various parts of the country show considerable similarity. Practically all are assisted in their work by family agencies, employment bureaus, nurseries, child protective associations, probation officers and Big Brothers, recreation and playgrounds, libraries, settlement clubs, medical and psychological clinics.

Of great importance also are the adjustments made in the school. When the school sees what the actual situation is and becomes aware of the real need of the child, it can often modify requirements to the newly seen limitations: a change of class, a transfer to a special school, a shifting of emphasis from one phase of school work to another, a new approach, a closer connection of the school work with the child's outside interests. The visiting teacher constantly coöperates with the various departments of the school system and when the situation requires the service of school nurse, vocational counselor or Child Study Department, she refers the child to that particular agency.

Many times, as all case workers will anticipate, the satisfactory outcome involves the combined help of family, school and social agencies as well as the re-direction of the child's interests and energy, as the following case will illustrate:

William's teacher and parents made almost simultaneous complaints at the principal's office. The latter complained that the boy stayed out late at night, hanging on the street corners with "loafers," that he was disobedient, that he used the money given him to buy the baby's milk for cigarettes and for gambling; the teacher said

that he was doing nothing in class but making trouble, that he "wasn't interested in a blessed thing." The parents wanted to have him "put away," and the teacher wished to have him "demoted until he learned to behave."

The visiting teacher found William a tall, overgrown, awkward boy, all arms and legs, who felt as big as a man, and had no feeling but resentment against the school for refusing to give him his working papers so that he "could go to work like a man." He was in a lower grade than most boys of his age because he had come to America only a few years before. Because he had to "stay in school with the kids," he took it out on the teacher. He neglected his lessons, bothered the other boys and was a constant drag on the class. He carried his grudge out from school and tried to do all the grown-up things he could think of, and cultivated the acquaintance of the older group of "loafers." His road was leading down-hill precipitately.

The visiting teacher explained the working paper situation to the boy, found out the kind of work he wished to go into, showed him the advantage for that trade of further education, and made him see that his recent conduct had been babyish rather than manly. The teacher, of course, gave him a new start, and the parents were made to realize that the boy needed wholesome recreation and association with older boys. Arrangements were made for him to join an athletic club at a nearby settlement where he was tried out in a position of responsibility which seemed to him worthy of his age and mettle.

William's remaining seven months of school were profitable to him and not a drawback to his classmates. When he left school, he had lost the grudge and had gained a feeling of fair play and loyalty. His relation to his parents was helpful, his friends were the kind of which they approved, and his conduct no longer a source of worry.

#### GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT

The first visiting teachers began work in the year 1906-1907 in New York, Boston and Hartford, Connecti-

cut. In these cities, and later in other places, as has frequently happened in other educational experiments, the impulse came from outside the school system. Private organizations—in Boston, settlements and civic organizations; in New York, settlements and the Public Education Association; in Hartford, the director of the Psychological Laboratory—saw the need of providing a specially equipped worker to help the schools, and developed and privately maintained the work until the school board became convinced of its value and incorporated it as part of the school system. In other cities, like Rochester and Mt. Vernon, New York, and Cleveland, Ohio, the work was introduced directly by the board of education. At present in all but four cities the work is part of the city public school system. The movement has grown until at present the work has been extended to twenty-nine cities in fifteen states. In some of these "school visitor" or a similar term is used instead of visiting teacher.

In 1919 the National Association of Visiting Teachers and Home and School Visitors was organized. It plans, through interchange of experience and study of methods and common problems, to develop standards of work among its professional members, and through publications and the interest of its associate members, to promote the development of the work and to assist those endeavoring to establish it in new communities.

It plans to hold an annual conference meeting alternately with the National Conference of Social Work and the National Education Association. It has recently made a survey of the work of the visiting teacher in this country, a report of which has been published by the Public Education Association of New York, under the title, "The Visiting Teacher in the United States."



Although in various places the work has differed in origin, some cities having approached it from the standpoint of community welfare and child welfare, others from that of school efficiency, and although the character of the work has naturally been modified by the original impulse and by local conditions, yet it has developed along comparatively similar lines in all places, and certain definite standards have evolved.

#### METHODS OF WORK

The majority of cities have adopted as the most satisfactory method, the assignment of a visiting teacher to a single school or to two or three small neighboring schools. This enables her to become identified with the interests of the school and neighborhood, and better to act as representative and interpreter of one to the other. As has been pointed out, studying the neighborhood, knowing its resources, its lacks and potentialities, its traditions, ambitions and dangers, is an essential part of the visiting teacher's work, while, as a member of the school staff, she is of course familiar with the school's facilities and possibilities.

When a visiting teacher works on the whole-city plan, she usually calls at a school on the request of the principal. When she is assigned to one school, as a rule she has daily office hours, and where her work covers several schools, she usually holds office hours at the school where her major work lies, and visits the others less regularly. The office hours are uniformly found to be of great advantage, and an office where she can see children and parents alone and hold conferences with teachers and social workers, is considered essential. Usually the visiting teacher's office is in the school building so that parents and children and teachers may find easy access to it.

In most cities the visiting teacher's

hours approximate the school day, though they cannot correspond exactly, for the nature of the work makes necessary calls at night, in the early morning, or at other irregular times, in order to find working parents or the family group at home, or to observe the neighborhood at night that she may find out important facts about the recreation and other phases of the neighborhood life.

Beyond the office hours it is hard to outline the visiting teacher's day. She has no fixed schedule or procedure. Her time has to be free to meet emergencies that constantly arise. However, part of almost every day is spent in school, conferring with the teachers about the new cases referred to her; finding out the facts of the present situation from the child's previous school history and his teacher's observations; observing certain children in their classes; hearing from the teachers about the progress of others, or the results of a new plan which may recently have been worked out together by visiting teacher and class teacher in the light of personal environmental facts which the visiting teacher has brought to the teacher's knowledge. "Reporting back" to the school and to the teacher directly the "conditions found," constitutes a very important part of every visiting teacher's work. As soon as the school's view of the child has been supplemented to include the background, there results almost immediately, a change of perspective in which factors which before loomed large seem less dominating. Further, the completion of the picture serves to individualize the child, however large the class, and "to individualize a child means seeing what he needs and trying to supply it."

A large part of the visiting teacher's day is spent in calling at the homes of the children. Sometimes the visits

are made during school hours to talk over serious problems with the mother when she is alone and comparatively undisturbed, especially such problems as might involve criticism of the family's attitude toward the child or the school. Other times, the visits are made after school so that matters may be "talked out" with mother and child and, again, at night or holidays, to find working parents or the whole family at home.

In the homes the visiting teacher frequently assumes the rôle of interpreter, explaining away misunderstanding about school requirements, interpreting the school's aims and demands and the child's needs. When these are realized, the parents give their coöperation to the school with a quickened sense of responsibility and a clearer vision of their duty. Many times the visiting teacher finds herself faced with the task of giving, in the simplest possible form, lessons in habit formation and child psychology. She has frequently to interpret to the children the attitude of their conservative parents.

Visits are also made to playgrounds and other gathering places to observe the child at play and with his mates, or to get better acquainted with him or his "gang." Frequently, though not daily, the visiting teacher confers with social agencies to work out plans for individual children or for families when the family situation is the limiting factor in the child's problem. It is the policy of the visiting teacher almost invariably to refer to social agencies all cases requiring their special assistance. She does not then close the case, but works coöperatively with the agency, keeping track of the child's school work and development and coördinating the work of the school and social agency. Much can be accomplished by close coördinating of the social agency and the school, if one has as an aim the securing of maximum

educational value for the child out of the family or special situation.

The following case shows how, out of a bad family situation, real educational capital was made for a head-strong, irresponsible girl of fourteen who hated school and thought she wished to go to work to help her family. Knowing the reaction of the home situation on the girl's school life, the visiting teacher worked out a special plan with the family agency to which she had referred the family. She advised that the money required for the family budget be paid in the form of a weekly scholarship to the girl. The conditions stipulated were that she attend school regularly and keep a budget. She was transferred to a special class and given a special course providing an unusual amount of household training—the one school subject which seemed to her to serve any useful purpose. The personal interest of the domestic science teacher was enlisted in the girl's home situation, and she not only advised about the budget but encouraged the girl to make the most of her scanty home furnishings. A tutor was provided to help with the academic subjects. Through this weekly-payment plan the girl was made a partner in the family situation, and her sense of responsibility developed. Her budget book served as the most effective arithmetic text book she had ever used. Incidentally, she learned much about food values and purchasing.

#### FOLLOWING UP CASES

"How long are cases followed up" is a question frequently asked. No definite time can be given; but as a rule, until the situation for which the child was referred has been corrected, or until the child seems to be sufficiently adjusted at school and home to warrant thinking that he can more than hold his own with the ordinary supervision

of the family or the social agency with which he has been connected. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult for a visiting teacher really to close a case, for she invariably retains her interest in the children as long as they remain in school, and is frequently consulted about situations as they come up.

All visiting teachers keep records of their cases. The majority use a printed form designed to take a minimum amount of time and to record those items which will be of service to the school in its treatment of the child. The items usually noted are: reasons why the child was referred; significant facts about his previous as well as current school history, his home conditions and environment, his interests and characteristics; the action taken by the visiting teacher in the home and the school, with recreational relief or other social agencies, and an estimate of the results of the case and of the fundamental trouble.

"Through individuals to the group is the approach of the visiting teacher," and as the result of her knowledge, derived from case work, new types of classes have been organized, school clubs, or other means to make the school fit the newly discovered need. Study rooms have been opened, school recreation centers organized; parents' clubs, courses in domestic training, special trade courses, school lunches and other extensions have been started as a result of the visiting teacher's view of the neighborhood. In this way her work becomes of value to the school as a whole. She acts as a scout bringing back a more definite knowledge of the lacks in the neighborhood, educational, social and moral, and of newer demands on the school that have arisen because of changing social and industrial conditions. This relation accords with the ideas of modern educators who believe that the connection between the school

and the community life cannot be too closely integrated.

On the other hand, the visiting teacher's acquaintance with the families and the neighborhood brings about social results. Through her work, various communities have been stimulated to provide scholarship funds, nurseries, community houses, homes for neglected children and other social activities. Hidden danger spots are not infrequently brought to her attention by parents who have not known what to do about the situation or have been afraid to report to the proper agency or official. In this way the work assumes an additional preventive aspect, and results in such improvements as better policing and lighting of parks, better provision for playgrounds, closing of improper movies, etc., checking of traffic in drugs to minors and the removal of similar insidious conditions.

The visiting teacher's position as a member of the school staff makes for certain advantages. She gets in touch with cases at an earlier stage than would an outsider. Teachers and parents consult her about suspicious cases which they would not feel justified in referring to a social agency. As representative of the school, the visiting teacher is free from the suggestion of philanthropy, and of all visitors she has, perhaps, the most natural approach to the home, going as she does in the interests of the child. It is a very rare thing for a visiting teacher to experience an unpleasant reception. Further, she is in a position to follow the child in school from year to year. Where the home carries a serious handicap, she may anticipate the difficulties of the younger children, help them avoid the false starts made by the older brother or sister, and also assist the school to reinforce the children against the inroads of the family handicap.

Her presence in the school means not

only that she can follow her cases from day to day at critical periods, but also that she is at hand whenever an emergency comes up in the principal's office that demands the advice of a social worker or of someone familiar with the social conditions and resources of the neighborhood. Thereby, too, loss of time is avoided in getting the case started. Her work serves to co-ordinate all the social forces of the school and community. Further, as a teacher and member of the school force, she naturally looks for the educational possibilities of every situation, and on the basis of her experience with numbers of cases she is in a position to make suggestions for changes or extensions of the school work, as has already been pointed out.

#### THE VISITING TEACHER'S PREPARATION

This educational possibility brings up the point of the preparation of the visiting teacher. Answers to a questionnaire sent out by the National Association of Visiting Teachers show that a majority of visiting teachers have had both teaching experience and social work. Almost all have had special training or experience in the latter. They have almost uniformly supplemented their previous experience with courses in child psychology and other branches of psychology or mental hygiene. This need has been particularly felt because many of the special school problems which gravitate toward the visiting teacher require special analysis, insight and patient understanding of behavior problems. Ability to speak a foreign language is a great advantage. A visiting teacher needs to know the nationalities of the children's parents, their customs, traditions and interests, so that she

may have a sympathetic approach.

The work has passed the experimental stage, but it is still growing in scope and method. Up to the present it has been largely concerned with maladjusted children. In certain cities, however, visiting teachers have co-operated in an attempt to get in touch with the school children before they become problems, through early study of their ability and social backgrounds.

The results of this work cannot be measured entirely in statistics. Studies made from time to time show that a large percentage of the children referred to visiting teachers have improved in conduct, attendance and scholarship. All the results, however, are not reported. Frequently they are cumulative: mothers who have been shown the reason for one child's failure remember the mistake to the profit of their younger children. Those who have studied the field of child welfare and who are turning to the school as the logical place for the detection and study of child maladjustments see in the growth of this work, great promise. They look forward to the time when each child shall be dealt with as an individual; when he will be properly graded, his task fitted to his capacity. They anticipate the time when all the forces at work upon the child may be harnessed to pull toward one goal. Then, as a natural outcome, it is hoped that retardation will become negligible; nervousness and mental disorders will be guarded against; juvenile delinquency will be reduced to a minimum, and industrial efficiency will be greatly lessened, because each child will go out, not prematurely and handicapped by inadequate training or the sense and habit of failure, but equipped and able to realize his potentialities,



## The Relation of the Teacher and the Social Worker

By ANNA BEACH PRATT

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IN the laboratory experiments of these days where each factor and all the conditions are controlled, it is not such a difficult matter to analyze and evaluate results; but in experiments with human beings where the factors have not yet been clearly differentiated by science and where the conditions are only partially controlled, an analysis of results may be interpreted in a different way by each observer. When there is added to this difficulty, the brief time of four years for an experiment that should extend over the child's entire school life before an ultimate interpretation of any part of it is attempted, the reader will understand how tentative must be the findings of this paper.

It was not primarily to study the relation of the social worker to the teacher that the experiment was begun. Indeed, the teacher was not even a part of the experiment when the century old Magdalen Society of Philadelphia, now the White-Williams Foundation, decided that *forming* was more profitable than *reforming*, and so started out to seek the girls who were leaving school for industry before they were ready to meet the problems of store or factory.

By guiding the girl to the work adapted to her ability; by going to the factory with her in a figurative, and sometimes in a literal, sense; by understanding her home and her neighborhood background and by helping her to secure what she needed to round out her life in and out of the factory, it was hoped to keep her from the necessity of a Magdalen Home.

One of the first facts disclosed by this undertaking, was that many of the children were going to work for other reasons than poverty. Often some

foolish reason was making them give up school.

In 1920 the White-Williams counselors in the Junior Employment Service of the Board of Public Education interviewed 908 of the 10,674 children who came that year to the Board of Public Education for general working certificates. Forty-seven per cent of these did not want to go on with their school work. They gave as reasons: "I was 'left down'"; "I didn't like arithmetic"; "I was too tall for the other girls in the room," etc. Many of these difficulties might have been adjusted if someone could have made plans with the children while they were still in school.

Even before these statistics were gathered, the counselor's work with the individual child had shown her that the children she knew were fitted neither for citizenship nor for industry, and that probably in this unfitness might be found many of the causes for future delinquency. To reach these causes, it would be necessary to go farther back into the child's life. Accordingly, as an experiment, counselors were placed in two public schools whose work extended from the fifth through the eighth grade.

The coöperation of various social agencies in the city was enlisted until last year the resources of two hundred and thirty-six different agencies were brought to the help of the school children in whom the counselors were interested. Teachers are beginning to turn to these workers when children do not respond to teaching. After the work had been organized for the boys as well as for the girls, a teacher remarked, "We don't seem to have disciplinary

problems in our room since you came to us." Yet almost in the same breath she told of a very naughty boy. "Your counselor visited the home," she said, "and found Jim sleeping on four chairs; he came to school without breakfast and had to steal food to keep soul and body together." He was to her mind not a disciplinary case, but a living boy with problems to solve far beyond his years and she was ready to help him solve them.

#### THE FACTORS COMMON TO TEACHING AND SOCIAL WORK

So much for the background of an attempt to relate social worker and teacher. We are now ready to consider those factors, found in the school, that demand the services of a social worker, and to see how these factors enter into the work of the teacher and so bring together the teacher and the social worker. The social worker's problem is that of unadjusted social relationships. Are these to be found in any number in the schools, or are those which we have reviewed in the work of the White-Williams Foundation, isolated incidents?

The statistical report of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education for 1920 gave a school population of 296,573, of which 42.7 per cent were of foreign parentage. There were 6,800 truants; 15 per cent of the children were "left down"; 7,834 children were three or more years behind the so-called normal grade; 2,109 were in special classes for backward children and 536 were in disciplinary classes.

The Junior Employment Service was able to secure 347 school records of the 908 in the study to which reference has already been made. These showed that 283, or 81 per cent, had failed one or more times to pass their school grade. This would seem to indicate that many of the children who said that they did

not like school, disliked it because they were unsuccessful in the work which they were given to do. If the percentage of failure for the 347 children held good for the entire 10,000, and it is probable that it did, since the 347 were not a selected group, it is evident not only that many of the children in school are not properly related to the school, as indicated by the figures of the report, but also that many of those who leave school, do so for this same reason.

One of the first things which impressed the counselors when they entered the school system, was the enormous number of children with whom it was dealing. They knew it in figures, but when they began to study Mary, Jennie, and the others as individuals, the numbers became appalling. Looked at from one angle, this vast army whom we educate is the glory of our public school system. It is certainly unique, for never before in the history of the world were there gathered together children from all nationalities on the face of the earth, to receive a common education. On the other hand, this same number of children becomes a curse; by blurring the teacher's vision, it prevents him from seeing the individual child. There is nobody interested in the "whole Johnnie," who used to be known because there were not so many of him.

#### THE TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENT OF THESE FACTORS

Often we blame the schools for this neglect, but they are not entirely responsible since they have not had the time to catch up with the rapid growth of our country. Educators could scarcely foresee this vast increase in our population when they secured the legislation that has caused so many of our problems—the compulsory education law.

Such a law in the early part of the

nineteenth century would not have complicated our school problem as it has today, because it would not have had to deal with the foreign language groups or with industrial and city problems. The seventeenth century immigrants of New England were eager that their children should learn to read and write, but too many of the later immigrants do not hold "book learning" in the same esteem, especially in a foreign tongue, because it seems to have no connection with home life or with earning a living; and not only the foreign parents but even the children of old American stock have become impatient with this book knowledge.

When one considers, also, that only a century and a quarter ago, most of our population was rural, that Philadelphia with its 60,000 inhabitants was then the largest city in the United States, that within this comparatively short space of time our great industrial centers have opened up and that most of the occupations of homemaking have necessarily been transferred to the factory—then it becomes apparent that both the parent and the teacher must unite in offering to the child a worthy substitute for the old-time instructive home-tasks of spinning, weaving, carpentering and planning the construction of various complete articles for the household. Parents have been inclined to accept the ready-made existence of modern industrial life and are surprised to note the changes in the school curriculum which teachers must make in order to meet the constantly decreasing opportunities of the home. They cannot see why their boy needs an education different from that which was good enough for them. In the old days in the country, these parents had known the teacher who "boarded 'round." "Backgrounds and foregrounds" of the child's life were open to those teachers.

We have heard of the wonderful results secured by the teacher in the "little red school house." Was it not this understanding of his children, born of intimate personal knowledge, and the co-operation of the parents that made it possible for him to accomplish so much?

In the same way the teacher of today, like the parent, has taken for granted the intimate conditions which touch him. He has tried to teach the foreign child in the same way that he teaches the American, and too often he has applied to both the "system of education" which he has learned, regardless of the need of the child or the changing industrial conditions. He may know that he has children of five or six nationalities in his room, but he may not know the history and the customs of those nationalities or anything about the present homes of these children. He sees the parents only when they come to the school to complain and he is called to the principal's office to hear such complaint.

A teacher one day was trying to make an Italian child understand the word "up." "Up, up," she said. "Where you go when you sleep." The child kept saying "Down," and the teacher thought him stubborn, until she discovered that his family slept in the basement.

#### HOW TEACHERS ARE DEALING WITH THESE FACTORS

In the face of these tremendous problems the school is not lying down but is going forward to meet them. In 1899, in Philadelphia, special classes for backward children were first opened and the Statistical Report for 1920 gives 103 centers for this work. Last year a separate school building was opened under the direction of a psychologist employed in the fall of 1920; more re-

cently, disciplinary classes were started, and three years ago a disciplinary school was opened. Other schools of the kind are planned for this year. The Statistical Report gives, in addition, a goodly number of classes for crippled, tubercular, anemic, partial sighted and non-English-speaking children.

The grading of the regular schools is being reviewed. Last year our psychologist found in one fifth grade, children whose mental ages ranged from eight to fifteen years, and this same room contained children with ability of third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh grades. When the school is large enough to permit several divisions of one class, the new method contemplates the grading of children according to mental age, correlated with chronological. For the hand-minded children, new opportunities are being offered in the junior high school. In Philadelphia, the first school of this kind has proved such a success that the Board of Public Education is organizing three additional junior high schools this fall. For those who are interested in trades, there are the new trade school for girls and the older trade departments for boys in the high schools.

To aid in this group handling of children and to meet the maladjusted relationships, the schools are attempting to study the individual child. The psychologist is examining children who do not come up to the grade requirements, and is planning the groups to fit their needs. In the Philadelphia schools last year the medical inspectors found, in round numbers, 180,000 physical defects, but they were able to secure the treatment of only 81,000, because of the small number of nurses for follow-up work. An effort is being made to increase this number.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1921, the Board of Education granted 17 new supervisors and inspectors.

#### CAN THE TEACHER HANDLE THE SITUATION WITHOUT THE SOCIAL WORKER?

Before we take up the problem of truancy which has been less intimately part of the school work, it would now seem a fair question to ask whether these activities in the school which have just been outlined are not sufficient to adjust the relations between child and teacher, so that no other aid is needed.

In reviewing the remedies, the first criticism naturally is that there are not enough of them to estimate their value. Acknowledging this criticism, but for the moment assuming that the schools have funds to secure all the doctors needed to examine carefully each child, all the nurses to visit every home and instruct in hygiene as well as to urge the correction of defects, all the psychologists to grade children according to mental age correlated with chronological, all the psychiatrists to care for emotional maladjustments, and all the special classes and special schools for every kind of child, would there be any place for a social worker? The experiment of the White-Williams Foundation is showing that in the schools having these activities, the teachers are most desirous of securing social workers.

In 1919, Dr. J. H. Leuba of the Department of Psychology at Bryn Mawr College determined upon a study of the boys in Philadelphia's disciplinary school. He came to the Foundation for a social worker to help him. When the study was concluded, and both agencies withdrew, the principal urged the White-Williams counselor to continue her visits to the homes, saying that since he had known that kind of help, he felt that it was an essential part of the school work.

When the psychologist of the Department of Education entered the



school system, she also felt that a social worker was essential in dealing with the backward children in the centers which she was opening, and the White-Williams Foundation gave her a counselor. At the same time, a principal of one of the most progressive high schools in Philadelphia who had secured the services of a psychologist, asked the Foundation for someone to visit the homes and bring to the psychologist the social histories of the children. She said, "We have almost no social problems but we need to know about the child's home life, to diagnose properly his mental ability and to plan for his future." After less than six months of visiting in the homes by a counselor, she confessed, "I had no idea that there were so many social problems confronting our children, and I did not realize what a help the knowledge of the home would bring to our teachers."

These instances would indicate not only that there is room for a social worker in the public schools, but that these new activities are making the need of such a worker more apparent.

#### IS THE TEACHER'S NEED OF A SOCIAL WORKER COMPARABLE TO THE DOCTOR'S NEED?

Little more than ten years ago, Dr. Richard C. Cabot discovered that the hospitals needed social workers. Just as educators are finding "repeaters" in our schools who have cost the schools many thousand dollars, so they found them in the hospitals. Money and space were being wasted, as they are in the schools, and the patients' time, often very precious to a working man or woman, was being consumed because no one with trained vision saw that the patient could continue with the right treatment in his home environment. The "backgrounds of hospital work"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Social Service and the Art of Healing*—by Richard C. Cabot, 1909.

as Dr. Cabot called them, were being neglected. In the home, the nurse's experienced eye saw Sarah's thin cheeks and hollow chest; her ear was alert to the mother's peculiar cough; but these same senses, untrained in the social field, could not detect the causes of distress which controlled the family situation. This visitor did not realize that possibly it was the father who must be given fresh courage—someone must help him find a job,—that Katie was bound to run wild, if her parents allowed her no recreation; that John would never be able to do his share towards the family support later on, unless someone got him off to school regularly and on time now.

Today, in private practice, the physician, the psychologist and the psychiatrist all want to know as much as possible about these social conditions before they will make a diagnosis; and in the schools, when there is time to give careful examinations, these specialists will increasingly ask for just this information. The teacher cannot give it to them. The nature of her problem has always been considered one of group handling and her whole course of training has been in group work. In practice it is impossible for her to visit the homes of from thirty to sixty children each semester and, if she could, on account of previous training her eye, like the nurse's, would not discover the facts which these specialists need.

Like them, and even more than they, she, too, must have this information and she must have it coördinated with theirs in order to see the "whole child." In the higher grades, where the work is departmental, and the teacher may all day long instruct different classes in arithmetic, she cannot individualize her pupils, and they become so many little heads, which are too often eager for the knowledge of a new kind of mischief, but not of decimals and frac-

tions. To the doctor, these same children are diseased throats, eyes, ears, etc.; to the psychologist, they are I.Q's ranging from 40 to 140. Frequently, these workers may not know the other's estimate of the child.

This problem of relationships and their coördination is distinctly that of the social worker. She cannot and she should not take the place of any of these specialists, but she can bring together their findings and, adding to this what she discovers of the child as a social being, she can make him an interesting, living personality to those who before saw only part of his mechanism. Especially must this be done for the teacher who, as she gets the vision, will see its value so plainly that she will want to know something herself of social case work. Already in the progressive normal schools hygiene and experimental psychology are being introduced, not that the teacher may diagnose disease or give mental tests, but that she may recognize the conditions which should be referred to doctor and psychologist. In the same way she must have training in social case work that she may be able to know which children need immediate social treatment and which she can herself help through changed methods of teaching.

#### THE ATTENDANCE OFFICER'S RELATION TO UNADJUSTED SCHOOL CONDITIONS

The problem of truancy has been left until the last, since, in meeting it, the school has a worker who does visit the home and in whom there are unusual possibilities for adjusting relationships. Because the Bureau of Compulsory Education of Philadelphia offered its offices as a laboratory when the White-Williams Foundation entered the school system, the truant problem was the first which was brought

to the attention of this organization.

In 1911, the department was reorganized by one of Philadelphia's school principals. He introduced modern school methods and so transformed its work that today it is considered one of the most progressive departments in the country, in spite of the fact that until 1921 there was only one attendance officer for every 8,000 of our population.<sup>3</sup> Here again, there is the curse of numbers and no one now realizes this better than the chief of the department. He sees that truancy is not a unit character to be met by compulsion alone, but that the cause in each case must be found and treated. Last year, he helped to organize for his attendance officers a class in social case work, and by experimenting with social workers as attendance officers, he discovered how little real social work could be done if each worker must make from 30 to 60 visits a day with no continuous record of the child in his possession. Earlier he had assigned an attendance officer to one school with excellent results.

It has been suggested<sup>4</sup> that "schools, juvenile courts, corrective institutions, and child welfare agencies combine, simplify and improve" and that the new organization work through the schools. The chief of the Philadelphia Bureau of Compulsory Education would make a beginning by requiring that attendance officers be trained social workers, qualified for teaching. With the exception of ten or twelve to prosecute when necessary, he would change the name of attendance officer because of the police power which the present name implies; he would increase the number of officers so that there may be one in each school to work with the

<sup>3</sup> Last year, the Board of Education allowed 6 new officers.

<sup>4</sup> "That Child" by Henrietta S. Additon and Neva R. Deardorff, *Survey*, May 3, 1919.

teachers, especially in the early grades where they may reach the causes of truancy before they become acute. As these counselors had time, they would take not only the children who are running away from school, but also those who are causing the teachers any trouble, since an absent mind is as impossible to educate as an absent body and may need more careful attention. Besides, when interest has gone, the body soon leaves too, and such a difficulty may be truancy in its incipient stage. At the end of eight years, when such an officer has grown up with the children and has secured the coöperation of the teachers and the help of the school office, there is every reason to believe that the problem of truancy will be practically solved.

#### THE LINK BETWEEN PARENT AND TEACHER

Such a plan as this would not require great added expense in proportion to the whole school budget and is not the visionary dream of someone who does not know the schools; it has been outlined by a practical school man of large experience. It would also, to his mind, be the natural avenue for the introduction of social workers into the schools. In factories, large prices are paid for efficiency methods and these are adopted without question after it has been proved that, in the long run, money can be saved. In the school system, the methods proposed would probably not save money, but, far more, they would save manhood and womanhood, the manhood and womanhood of the old days of which we read, when the parent and the teacher worked hand in hand for the child. We should again link them together; but we cannot go backward. There must be a new link in the chain to unite the broken parts and experiment is teaching us that this link is the social worker. She will connect with

the home not only the teachers, but also all the necessary forces of school and community for the help of the child.

#### SUMMARY

To summarize what has been said: In the early days of our country, the center of the child's educational life was in the home. Parents who were obliged to report from time to time whether they were training their children "in learning and labor and other employments profitable to the Commonwealth," unconsciously so co-ordinated the child's physical, mental, emotional, social and vocational life that the "whole child" was understood and educated. As the center of his education gradually shifted to the school, and as specialists in addition to the teacher began to deal with the child, each one knew only a part of him and no one knew his background.

Once more, education is demanding the knowledge of the "whole child" in his environment before attempting to teach him. Today, the one coördinator of this "whole child" in home and school environment is the social worker. When all teachers have understanding of social case work, they will give this worker the welcome which is now accorded to her by those of their own number who already understand, and by socially minded physicians, psychiatrists and psychologists.

At present, it looks as if attendance departments would be the first to recognize the need of a social worker, but until some department of the school does see this need, the social workers in private organizations can do little more than present the picture of a few "whole children" to the school and to the community, so that popular opinion may recognize the value of the individual with his unknown potential power and give him, in the school, the opportunity to develop this power to the utmost.

## Aid to Mothers With Dependent Children

By EMMA O. LUNDBERG

Director, Social Service Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

WHAT has been popularly known as the "mothers' pension movement" had its origin at a time marked by reaction against old forms of public relief and the institutional care of dependent children. The White House Conference, called by President Roosevelt in 1909, focused attention on the desirability of placing children, wherever possible, in family homes instead of in institutions. However, its fundamental proposition was that children should not be deprived of home care except for urgent and compelling reasons, and that "children of parents of worthy character, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of children." However, the ban which rested on public relief at that time was indicated by the suggestion in the conclusions of the conference that such aid to mothers should be given from private, not from public funds.

Accordingly when the earliest bills were proposed, beginning in 1911, the policy of a special form of public relief for dependent children in their own homes met with a storm of protest from the advocates of private relief. But the wave of sentiment for such public provision as would make unnecessary the removal of children from their homes because of poverty, grew increasingly, and by 1921 forty states and Alaska and Hawaii, had embodied this idea in their laws.

Not all, however, have translated the legal theory into practice. It may fairly be said that the principle of home care for dependent children is generally accepted in this country, but the ten years' experiment does not by any means indicate that the problem has been met. In two states laws have been inoperative because of defects; in several others, practically no use has been made of the legal provision; and in many states where splendid work has been done in some localities, in other communities the intent of the law has been ignored or the provisions made have been so inadequate as to be of little avail.

### BEGINNINGS OF THE MOTHERS' AID MOVEMENT

Before mothers' pension laws were enacted a number of states and localities had recognized the wisdom of the principle and had applied it in a limited way. As early as 1906, the juvenile courts of some counties of California granted county aid to children in their own homes; later, in 1911, the state began to reimburse counties for such aid given to half orphans. An Oklahoma law of 1908 provided for "school scholarships" to be paid by counties upon recommendation of the school authorities, to children whose widowed mothers needed their earnings. A Michigan law of 1911 also authorized payment from school funds to enable children of indigent parents to attend school. Through a resolution by the County Board of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, in 1912, such aid was given through the juvenile court. In New



Jersey, aid to dependent children in their homes had been granted from county funds prior to 1913. The first concrete legal provision of aid to mothers of dependent children was passed by the Missouri legislature in 1911, applying only to Jackson County (Kansas City) and later, in the same year, to the city of St. Louis. The first state-wide mothers' aid law was enacted in Illinois in 1911.

#### SPREAD OF LEGISLATION

After this definite beginning, the movement spread rapidly. In 1913, a total of eighteen states enacted mothers' pension or aid to mothers laws; these were California, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin. In 1914, Arizona was added to the list; in 1915, Kansas, Montana, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Tennessee, West Virginia and Wyoming—a total of eight states; and in 1916, Maryland. Six states—Arkansas, Delaware, Maine, Missouri (state-wide law), Texas and Vermont—and the territory of Alaska passed such laws in 1917; Virginia, in 1918, provided for allowances to widows. Connecticut, Florida and Hawaii were added in 1919, and during the same year in Indiana, an amendment to the Board of Children's Guardians law permitted aid from public funds to be given for children in their own homes. Louisiana passed a mothers' aid law in 1920, and, in 1921, the Constitutional Convention submitted such a measure as an amendment to the State Constitution.

The experimental character of much of this legislation, due largely to the haste with which the idea was adopted, is seen in the revisions and numerous amendments found necessary as the

laws were put into operation. The first Illinois act was completely revised in 1913, and in other states five of the 1913 laws were completely revised and eight others amended in 1915. Similar changes have been made in the later legislation, but the majority of these amendments have been for the purpose of improving the administration, making the application more inclusive and increasing the amount of the grant or of the total appropriation available. The earliest Arizona law was in 1916 declared unconstitutional, and another act passed in 1917 was also found to be unworkable; a new law was passed in 1921. Because of a defect in the appropriation section, the Maryland law of 1916 has been inoperative. In a few other states, while the validity of the laws has not been questioned, they have been largely ineffective because of failure to make the necessary funds available.

#### APPLICATION OF THE LAW

The central idea in the propaganda, and the most common inclusion in the earlier laws, was aid to widows. Gradually this conception has widened, until now only six states of the forty limit the grant to children of widows, though all states include widows directly or by implication. The first Illinois act was entitled "funds to parents act," and the law that followed shortly after in Colorado includes a parent, or parents, who because of poverty are unable to provide properly for a dependent child. In Illinois, however, revision has limited the application of the law to dependent children whose fathers are dead or totally incapacitated. In seventeen states children of deserted mothers may be granted aid, and in six states, children of divorced mothers. Families where the father is totally inca-

pacitated may be helped in eighteen states; fifteen states permit aid if the father is in an institution for the insane or is feeble-minded, and twenty states if the father is in a state penal institution. A few states gave assistance to relatives or guardians, other than parents, having custody of a dependent child. The whole trend appears to be toward giving the benefit of such aid to a larger group of children in their own homes. In Washington, the law is applicable to any "mothers who are needy"; in Maine and Massachusetts, to mothers with dependent children; in New Hampshire, to mothers dependent on their own efforts to support their children; and in North Dakota, to any woman who has one or more children dependent on her for support. Michigan and Nebraska specifically include unmarried mothers, while in some other states the law can be so applied.

There is the same lack of uniformity in the residence requirements in the different states. Except for five states in which there are no stated requirements, these vary from one year in the county to citizenship in the United States with five years' residence in the state and three years' in the county. Citizenship in the United States is included in the requirements of only eight states.

In general, the age—by law or in practical application—at which a child is given this form of aid coincides with the minimum age at which employment is permitted under the law, although in three-fourths of the states aid may be granted after the child reaches 14 years of age. In only one state, West Virginia, the age limit is 13 years; in nine states grants may be made for children up to 14 years of age. Fifteen years is the maximum in seven states and 16 years in nineteen states. Indiana permits aid up

to 16 years for boys and 17 years for girls. In Michigan grants may be made for children up to 17 years of age; Ohio and Vermont mention no age limits. In six of the nine states in which the maximum age is 14 years, there may be extension of the age in case of sickness or unusual conditions, or if the child should continue in school. In Louisiana the maximum age may be increased from 16 to 18 years in case of sickness or incapacity. Because of inadequate appropriations it is doubtful, however, if a very considerable number of children above the compulsory education age are beneficiaries of these acts.

#### CAUSES OF DEPENDENCY

Any attempt to analyze the character of the disabilities that cause families to become applicants for this form of public assistance, must take into account variations of practice, due largely to the inadequacy of the funds and, perhaps, in lesser degree, to the differences in administrative rulings in states and localities operating under apparently similar legal provisions. The distribution of the reported causes of dependency in a total of 9,194 cases of aid to mothers of dependent children is shown in Figure 1. The figures are for the states of Colorado, Massachusetts, Maine, Minnesota and Nebraska, in all of which the application of the law is very inclusive.

In view of the original emphasis on aid for children of widows, it is significant to note that families of widowed mothers represent three-fourths of the entire number. It is probably true that the percentages of families in which the father was incapacitated physically or mentally, or in which divorce, desertion or imprisonment of the father were the causes of dependency, are lower than they would be in actual fact if the limitation of funds

did not stand in the way. At any rate, the 25 per cent in which the death of the father was not the occasion for aid shows the necessity for a more general application of this form of assistance to children than was at first recognized.

The figures for two states, Michigan

of a total of almost 6,000 cases, 8 per cent were children who were orphans.

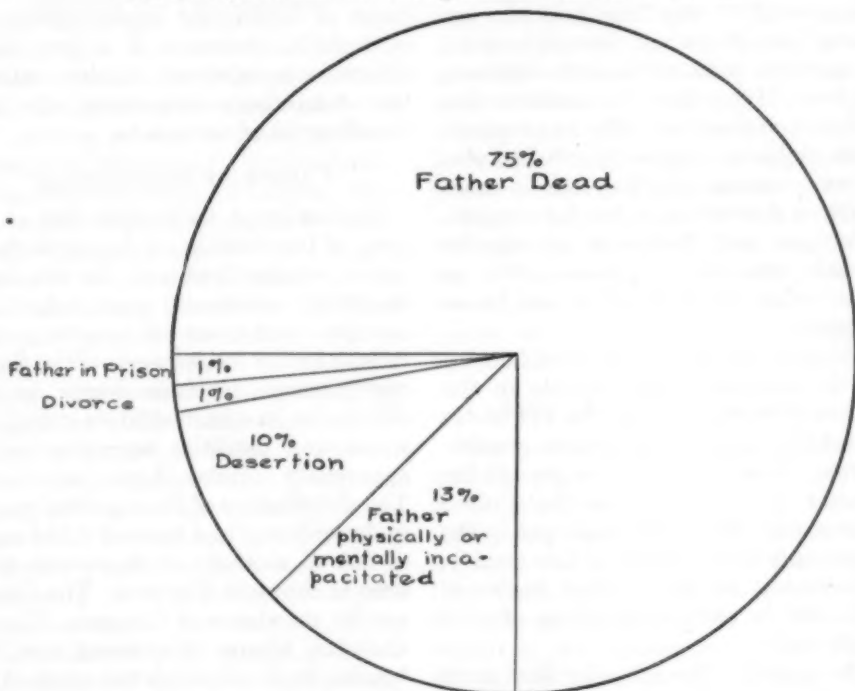
#### CHILDREN AIDED

Data on the number of children toward whose support in their own homes public grants are made, are available only to a limited extent.

FIGURE 1

#### CAUSES OF DEPENDENCY

Based on 9,194 Families Receiving Mothers' Pensions in 5 States.



and Wisconsin, that extend aid to still other groups than those mentioned above, are of interest as indicating the types of need that are still unmet in most states. In Michigan, aid may be given to unmarried mothers, and while it may be assumed that such aid was kept at a minimum, 1 per cent of almost 7,000 mothers were unmarried. In Wisconsin, aid may be given to grandparents or to others having the custody of a dependent child. Out

For a number of states and cities the proportion of children granted allowances to the total population under fifteen years of age, ranges from one-tenth of one per cent to 1.9 per cent. If similar conditions prevailed in the remaining states, it is estimated that the total number of children to receive such aid in the United States would approximate 200,000. If, on the other hand, the estimate were based on the proportion of children found to

be in need of such aid in the communities where this assistance seems to be given on a fairly adequate basis both as to inclusion and amount of grants, the total number of children in the United States for whom aid should be granted in their own homes would be closer to 350,000 or 400,000—and probably beyond even this estimate if all types of more or less permanent family disability were included. The situation that now appears to exist, in which there are proportionately almost twenty times as many families granted aid in one community as in another, probably does not imply a higher economic level in the former, but may instead indicate an absence of proper provision. Mothers' pension administration offers perhaps the most obvious arguments as to the futility, not to say actual detriment, of placing laws on the statute books but failing to make them practically effective through adequate appropriations and proper administration.

The ages of children for whom aid is granted are rarely compiled by the administrative agencies, though this would seem to be a very significant factor. In two states and a large city for which age figures were available, including 13,553 children, 34 per cent were under 6 years; 60 per cent, from 6 to 14 years, and 6 per cent, 14 and 15 years of age. Thus, one-third of the children were below school age, requiring the more constant attention of the mothers. The average number of children in the families aided appears in most states and localities to be about 3.5.

#### REASONS FOR DISCONTINUANCE OF AID

An analysis of the reasons for discontinuing aid, as given in the reports of six states and five counties containing large cities, for a total of 7,480 cases,

indicates to some extent the complexity of the problem, and the necessity for keeping constantly in touch with conditions in the home if the assistance intended for the children is to be well applied. In only 44 per cent of the cases was aid discontinued because it was no longer required; most frequently, no doubt, this meant that a child began to work, or that the mother's earnings increased or that relatives or others came to the assistance of the family. Too often the mother finds it impossible to maintain her family on the allowance granted, and elects to dispense with both the aid and the regulations that accompany it, undertaking employment that necessitates either neglecting the home or making provision for the care of the children elsewhere. In truth, because of the very common inadequacy of the aid, no reliable economic interpretation can be given these figures. The reason for discontinuance, reported as next in frequency, was the remarriage of the mother—16 per cent. In 11 per cent of the cases in which aid had been granted, it was later discontinued because the home was found unsatisfactory, the mother proved unfit to care for the children properly, or for a similar reason. In another 11 per cent the aid was discontinued because the mother or the child for whose benefit the grant was made had died, because the mother or the child was taken into an institution, the mother ceased maintaining a home, or the family left the county or state. In the states giving aid to families of fathers in prison or deserting, a small proportion were no longer aided because the fathers were released or had returned to their families.

#### INCREASE OF EXPENDITURES

When appropriations were first made for the aid of dependent chil-



dren in their homes, there was little actual knowledge in regard to the extent of the need to be met. As experience was gained, the funds available were increased. But a study of the situation in perhaps the majority of localities will show that the amounts appropriated for grants to mothers of dependent children are still far below what is needed to carry out the spirit of these laws. In states where there is some form of supervision by the state authorities, and in counties and cities where "case work" methods prevail, there is usually an effort to utilize the funds available in such a way that the families accepted for grants will receive the necessary amount of assistance, even though a considerable number of mothers with dependent children cannot be given aid. In one of our large cities the total state and county appropriation available for mothers' aid makes it possible to care fairly adequately for about one thousand families, leaving a waiting list that for the past two or three years has approximated eight hundred families who are under the terms of the law entitled to receive aid but who cannot be supplied. And this in spite of the fact that appropriations in this state and county have doubled and trebled during the past few years!

Figure 2 indicates the increase in expenditures over a five-year period as compared with the increase in the number of families aided during the same years. The five states represented are Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York and Wisconsin. Their aggregate expenditures for mothers' pensions in 1920 reached a total of almost six and a half million dollars.

By 1920, as compared with the totals for 1916, the expenditures in these states had increased 186 per cent and the number of families, 101 per cent. The obvious conclusion is that the

earlier appropriations were found to be very insufficient for the needs of the families aided, and that as more funds became available, more adequate grants were made to the families under care. The data cannot be taken as criteria of either the amounts required or of the number of families eligible for and in need of this form of assistance.

#### INADEQUACY OF GRANTS

Amounts paid for the care of children in boarding homes by private child-caring agencies in 1920 approximately averaged \$4.50 a week per child; for three children, this would be approximately \$60 a month. For the states in which a legal allowance is specified, the maximum grants for three dependent children in their own home are as follows: \$19 to \$20, seven states; \$22 to \$29, nine states; \$30 to \$39, eight states; \$40 to \$49, four states; \$50 to \$55, four states.

The lack of uniformity and the apparent absence of the proper consideration of family needs for subsistence are indicated in the amounts permitted under the laws relating to mothers' aid in the state of Missouri. For Jackson County (Kansas City) the maximum legal allowance for a family with three children is \$20; for St. Louis, \$45; and for the state outside these two cities, \$32.

In boarding homes the family would necessarily have some other income; the families granted mothers' pensions are much less likely to have other resources. Yet the standard set in mothers' pension laws is approximately from one-third to two-thirds the amount found requisite by agencies for boarding children in family homes. Again it should be emphasized that even the inadequate maximum permitted by the terms of the law is seldom granted. Local economy

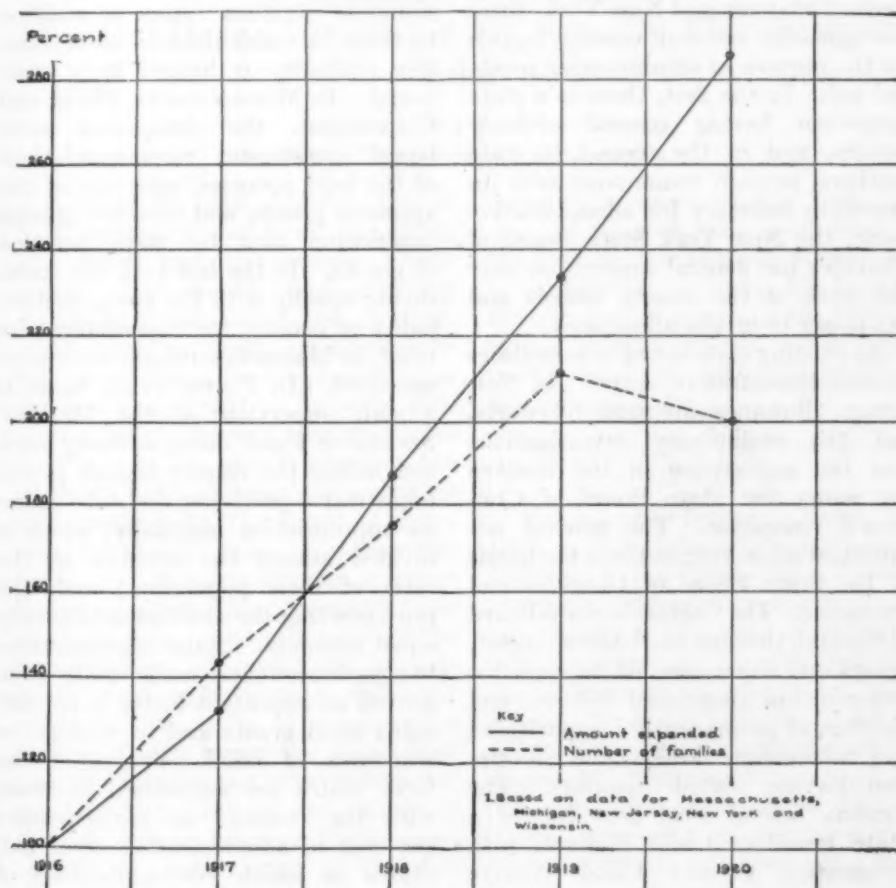
and inadequate appropriations set a minimum entirely insufficient for the proper maintenance and safeguarding of the children who are by this legislation recognized as being in special need of aid and protection by the state.

The more closely the administration of aid to dependent children in their own homes approximates the methods used in good "family case work," the more nearly does the allowance approach the needs of the family and the assistance conserve the wel-

fare of the children. Not infrequently the public funds known to be required must be supplemented by private charity or ordinary poor relief grants. Or, as seems to be the situation in a very considerable proportion of localities, the allowances must be eked out by the mothers' earnings. If proper arrangements can be made for the care and safeguarding of the children while the mother is away from the home, this may work out satisfactorily. But it requires very careful attention to

FIGURE 2

COMPARATIVE INCREASE IN EXPENDITURES FOR MOTHERS' AID AND IN NUMBER OF FAMILIES AIDED DURING THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD 1916-1920, AS SHOWN BY PERCENTAGES OF 1916 FIGURES



the situation in each home aided to make sure that the assistance given is such that the welfare of the children is conserved.

#### ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION

There are four main types of administrative agencies: court (juvenile, county, district, etc.), county or town board granting poor relief, special county board and state board. The administration of mothers' aid in twenty states is lodged in a court having juvenile jurisdiction. In eleven states the county, town, or municipal board giving poor-relief administers also the aid to mothers of dependent children. In three states, Pennsylvania, Delaware and New York, there are specially created county boards for the purpose of administering mothers' aid. In the first, there is a state supervisor having general advisory powers, and in the second, a state mothers' pension commission with an executive secretary for administrative work; the New York State Board of Charities has general supervision over the work of the county boards and has power to revoke allowances.

An existing state board is sometimes given administrative duties. In New Jersey, allowances are made by courts, but the preliminary investigations and the supervision of the families are under the State Board of Children's Guardians. The general administration in Vermont is in the hands of the State Board of Charities and Probation. The California State Board of Control, through its children's agent, grants and supervises aid to orphans, half-orphans, abandoned children, and children of permanently incapacitated and tuberculous fathers, the counties also paying stated amounts. The Arizona law of 1921 provides for a State Board of Child Welfare, with coöperating County Child Welfare

Boards, part of whose work includes assistance to dependent children in their own homes. In New Hampshire, the State Board of Education is charged with administration of allowances to mothers, working through the town school boards. In Florida, also, the work is tied up with the county boards of public instruction, but allowances are made by the county commissioners and supervision is in the hands of the State Board of Health in coöperation with the county boards. In Indiana, the existing County Boards of Children's Guardians were given authority to grant aid to children in their own homes.

There is some form of state supervision in eighteen states in addition to those in which definite administrative authority is lodged in a state board. In Massachusetts, Maine and Connecticut, the designated state board investigates recommendations of the local agencies, approves or disapproves grants, and exercises general supervision over the administration of grants. In the last two, the states divide equally with the town, municipality or county, the expenditures for relief; in Massachusetts, the state pays one-third. In Pennsylvania, there is a state supervisor of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, doing advisory work and aiding the county boards in administrative problems; the state makes an appropriation biennially, which is divided among the counties in the ratio of their population, with the provision that the counties must supply equal amounts. State appropriations to supplement those made locally have proved an important factor in encouraging local grants and in raising the standards of relief. Twelve of the forty states are authorized to share with the counties or municipalities the cost of administration or of aid. States in which the application of

mothers' pension laws was originally left to the initiative of local officials have frequently found it desirable to amend laws so as to make appropriations mandatory instead of permissive, and to supply some form of assistance or supervisory authority by the state, in order to carry out the intent of the laws.

The question of effective administration of mothers' pensions has been well summarized in the Standards agreed upon by the Conference on Child Welfare held under the auspices of the Federal Children's Bureau in 1919:

The policy of assistance to mothers who are competent to care for their own children is now well established. It is generally recognized that the amount provided should be sufficient to enable the mother to maintain her children suitably in her own home, without resorting to such outside employment as will necessitate leaving her children without proper care and oversight; but in many states the allowances are still entirely inadequate to secure this result under present living costs. The amount required can be determined only by careful and competent case study, which must be renewed from time to time to meet changing conditions.

## Foster Home Standards for Socially Handicapped Children

By MARY S. DORAN

Of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia

ONE of the most potent factors in creating foster home standards is a belief that the socially handicapped child should be given every chance to realize his fullest development; that his needs are fundamentally no different from those of other children and should be honestly met. Such a belief, the sort that translates itself into action, should permeate the whole staff of a children's organization and, particularly, the board of directors, for their position gives them the final say in determining policies. Board members, who in accepting their positions have voluntarily assumed the responsibility of intelligent parenthood, must uphold their children's rights in the midst of communities that so readily forget the defenselessness of childhood and value dollars and cents far above human life. Theirs is the privilege of bringing to the community an appreciation of the real value of a child's life and helping that

community to transmute more and more of its gold into possibilities for the development of its childhood, that these children, so badly handicapped through loss of home and the fostering care of parents, may have the opportunity to grow into self-respecting members of society.

### RESPONSIBILITY OF BOARDS OF DIRECTORS

Modern psychology teaches that what we do is, after all, what we really believe. A few years ago a certain children's organization published in its annual report the statement that its equipment had become such that all of the children in its care were "now" receiving "personal consideration" and being fitted into carefully selected homes; but it neglected to state in this connection that its board of directors was requiring the visitors to care for from 130 to 160 children each. If by personal consideration they meant



knowing the personalities of 130 or more pre-adolescent boys and girls, the personnel of the different families in which these same children were placed and the history of the families out of which they came, all of which is essential to individual treatment or "personal consideration," they simply did not believe what they were saying. To ask one limited human being to know 130 or 160 children so completely as to render individual treatment to each, is to play the prank of the mad Hatter in asking Alice to have some wine. "I don't see any," said Alice. "There isn't any," said the Hatter.

No board with even a slight responsibility for its task could possibly tolerate the huge degree of child labor to which these placed-out children are subjected, creating and underwriting in the minds of the community the thought that the dependent child should be grateful even for the chance to labor; nor would the physical and moral neglect of children after placement be so prevalent if the board of directors believed that these children had anything like the same claim to human treatment as their own boys and girls.

A case in point is that of a farmer's wife who was asked by the directors of a small institution to take twenty-nine boys and girls of varying ages for the summer vacation. She requested that the directors provide an attendant who could be with the children during the day, as with her household tasks she could see little of them other than at meal times. Her request was refused. Because of the indifference of the directors she assumed a similar attitude and considered it no concern of hers when the older boys and girls went into the woods each morning after breakfast, staying away until the noon hour and repeating the same pro-

cedure in the afternoon. The board may have held the farmer's wife responsible for supplying an attendant, but if so, did not see to it that she secured one. This happened as recently as the summer of 1920.

#### KNOWING THE CHILD

The board that establishes a policy of justice toward its children will see in each child a human individual to be treated as such and will provide conditions that will contribute to his best development. To consider the child in the light of a human individual one needs to know who and what he is and, in transferring him to a strange home, to see him first against the background of his own home and family surroundings. One must have detailed information that will give a fine comprehension of the stock from which he comes, the soil in which he has been growing, the kind of human plant into which he is developing and the reasons why he needs to be transplanted. All of this knowledge is positively essential before the one can attempt to arrange for the child's future. The diagnosis for treatment, as it were, must be made upon a generous body of facts covering the life of the child and his family.

#### KNOWING THE HOME

The foster home plays an integral part in treatment and, as the urge to give individual treatment leads to the necessity of thoroughly knowing the child before any plan can be made, just so does it become essential to know many facts about a prospective foster home before one can wisely interpret the type of work for which it is best fitted or before any choice can be made for a special home for a special child. This choice should be made regardless of the class in society from which the home may come, for the

home must be considered only in the light of its fitness for the task. With the enlightened organization, the day is past when any child is placed in the foster family solely as a therapeutic agent.

An organization, by virtue of thoroughly knowing each child before placement, creates its own demand for thoroughly investigated homes. It can use no others. Out of its desire for justice it just naturally cannot make a practice of placing its children in partially investigated homes to complete the investigation through the child's experience with the family. Could any better method be devised for atrophying those qualities in a child, which should later blossom into self-respecting citizenship, than to pass him from one poorly investigated home to another, transferring him because after each placement something undesirable was learned about the family—something undesirable that should and could have been learned before any child ever stepped across its threshold? To let him experience an ugly temper that relieves itself at the expense of the child, a mean disposition that begrudges the child a real place in the family life, tolerating him merely for the work he could do, under-nourishment or a bad moral background? Yet, over and over again, the crust of an investigation is merely broken through just wide enough to shove in a child and he, in reality, becomes the investigating agent. The heavy toll which the delinquent group claims from the ranks of dependent children compelled to lead this "tramp life" is nothing short of appalling.

#### REAL AND COMPLETE EVIDENCE NEEDED

In seeking to establish the correct evaluation of a prospective foster home one cannot, out of justice to

someone else's child, rely solely upon his own estimate of the family, their home life, or their place in the community. However good his judgment, may be in the interpretation of people and situations, a few hours contact with one or two members of the family can hardly reveal enough of the truth to enable him to feel sure that the family as a whole is worth-while material. He must seek the judgment of those who have known the family at close range over a longer period and out of their experience gain additional facts upon which to base the final judgment.

It is the person who has wintered and summered the family, and only he, who can give real evidence as to their moral fibre, or thoroughly comprehend the relations existing in the home between man and wife, the degree of responsibility each is showing toward the home and children, and what would seem to be the purpose underlying their desire to take another child into their midst. Have they a sympathetic understanding of a child's needs and, if there are other adults in the family, what is likely to be their attitude? It is quite possible for someone not holding any place in the making of family decisions to create an atmosphere that reacts most unfavorably upon the child's happiness. Then there are the health conditions of the family and the question of their disposition and temperament. Are they temperamentally fitted for the care of children; what has been the care and training of their own or any children for whom they have been responsible; what is their native intelligence, the grade of house-keeping that holds throughout the year, their financial condition, the way in which they spend their leisure time, their interests and standing in the community?

One needs to be shod with the desire

for something more than half truths and loose statements in the gathering of these facts, for invariably the person giving the information gives in proportion to the importance of the request as it exists in his own mind. One must often throw upon the mental screen of such a person a new conception of child-care before the facts wished for are forthcoming. Occasionally one may secure a full quota of evidence from one reference, but rarely does he find the person whose experience with the whole family has been so varied and whose judgment is so unbiased and discriminating that additional testimony is not needed; for, after all, the real value of testimony lies in having enough of it and it is the facts contributed by a group of persons that help weave the whole—facts that are weighed in the light of the personality, standards and judgment of each reference as well as his experience with the family.

#### KIND OF REFERENCES REQUIRED

Much depends upon having a group of well-chosen references, people who know the family from a variety of angles. It is desirable that all should not belong to the same social circle as the family. It is greatly to the advantage of the investigation when the names of references can be secured through a personal interview with the prospective foster mother, for much can be done to guide her in the making of a wise selection. The personal interview also gives opportunity to secure suggestions of possible sources of information unconsciously given. To depend upon an answered question form, no matter how elaborate, for the names of references leaves one quite at the mercy of the choice of the person who sends them. Under these circumstances the best he can do is so to shape the question form as to convey the idea of the type of

references desired, and include such questions as ask for former addresses and church membership. Former addresses, if of any duration, and particularly if outside of a city section, are invariably fruitful sources of information and through them, where the family have not transferred their church membership, one can get back to another local group. If in this way one good reference can be located, he in turn will invariably suggest some other reliable person if so requested.

To be obliged to interview most of the references by letter is another handicap, especially if the names of references have been secured through answered question forms and one knows little of what they represent. All sense of personal equation is lost. Make the letters as explicit as one may, he has no chance to get back of a spirit of indifference or misconception of the work and present his case. If, for instance, the majority of children throughout a section have been placed with little or no knowledge as to their physical condition, children with venereal diseases going into homes where there are other children, no doctor is likely to take seriously a written request for knowledge about health conditions in a prospective foster family. One must build up a large body of references throughout the territory used for placing—reliable people who can be interested and trained into an appreciation of what is needed in the way of information and who will, in response to letters of inquiry, secure the necessary facts from some authentic source if they themselves do not know the situation.

#### THE VISIT TO THE FOSTER HOME

The other essential portion of an investigation is the visit to the foster family. This should be made, whenever possible, after the references have

been interviewed, for the visitor should be free to give the family the mental assurance that they are acceptable if he is to produce an atmosphere congenial to the revealing of personal history. To be obliged to make the first contact with a family through a visit to their home restricts one greatly in the possibilities of touching these finer chords. The fact that he does not know what the family represents is prohibitive of that relaxed mental state that makes for confidence. In asking for references the family knows that it is yet to be tested and, although the most friendly feeling may prevail, there is bound to be a subconscious tension, for it is hardly fair to give the family an assurance of receiving children until more is known concerning them.

Where it is possible to have the first interview in the office, at which time the names of references are obtained or the application wholly eliminated, the way is left open for paying the home visits to only promising material and the visit thus freed for the closer contacts. One wants to know how life has affected the family and how they have taken it if he is really to know what they have to give to a child. One wants to know something of the environment in which the husband and wife, themselves, grew up: their traditions, their training, education and ambitions; the establishment of the new home; the training of their children; the man's share in the home life; their interests in other people's boys and girls; their contacts in the community; the breadth of their experience and how it has made for character and personality. To one who desires to sense the capacity of a home for shaping the life of a foster child this opportunity to gauge something of personal experiences will not seem like trespassing on family intimacies, for it

is never an end in itself. It is, to be sure, dealing in personalities and personal values but is strangely impersonal.

The home visit plays a vital part in interpreting the type of work the family is best fitted to do. A thoroughly good woman with an exaggerated idea of the divine right of parents may be just the person to bring certain children into line, but never the child who lacks confidence in his own ability. She may have done an excellent piece of work with her own boys and girls but one can hardly expect the majority of references to sense the situation from just the slant that one expects of a placing specialist. It is from the vantage ground of his specialized experience that he interprets and values foster home material, its possibilities and impossibilities, on the basis of facts gleaned from a number of sources.

There is something about the freedom of placing the child in an entirely new environment, with the opportunity to select new home material free from the flaws existent in the child's own home, that makes one somehow unconsciously search for the perfect home. One never quite relinquishes the search, always hoping at the next turn to find the home of his heart's desire, selecting, however, in the meantime from the imperfect human material that makes up the average imperfect community, homes that under the right touch, in spite of their imperfections, do marvelous work.

The majority of homes, even the best, have their liabilities as well as their assets, and in the selective process one must see to it that the liabilities do not fall too low, for there are certain fundamentals essential to each and every home accepted, without which it would be unwise to consider it for the task. Foster parents must be people who have personal character to



a greater or less degree; people who have a spiritual unity in their lives, who are facing life squarely and believe in their fellow men; people with good, native intelligence; people whose love has a touch of the universal and who can take to their hearts children who are in no way related to them. Their financial situation must be so that the home is not dependent upon the children's board or labor for maintenance. It is quite impossible to build up a family budget out of the board paid for children, as the rates go, and have anything left for the children. There should be good health conditions and a good environment—but character, as a rule, will satisfactorily shape the immediate environment.

#### SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS IN HOMES

The special qualifications needed in a home vary according to the type of work undertaken and according to whether the child is to remain for a shorter or longer period. The baby placed for adoption must have in his new home such qualities as can meet his needs when he reaches adolescence; whereas the baby placed for temporary care during the first year and a half of his life, may prosper quite beautifully with a woman of colorless personality or one lacking in force. The big, outstanding assets of the baby home are a passion for cleanliness and routine and an instinctive appreciation of the need of adjusting life to the baby; also a fine spirit of coöperation with the nurse and the doctor directing the child. When the mother of the baby is not married and visits the baby in the home, the foster mother must be one who will not unwisely guide the mother, for she will frequently turn to the foster mother for advice.

In the home for the little "run-arounds," children from two to six years

of age, the essentials one wishes to see are a respect for the child's individuality and skill in training the child through ways of expression rather than repression. One wants a close, warm sympathy, an understanding of the need of routine as it relates to the child's physical needs and an appreciation of the wisdom of a simple, varied diet, a single bed in a room separate from his foster parents and plenty of out-of-door space for play.

The outstanding qualities in the home for the pre-adolescent and adolescent child are a sympathetic understanding that will lead him into some knowledge of self and his relation to the world of people about him, an ability to help in the readjustment of the child's life, when former environment has been against him—in short, the spirit which a good foster mother unconsciously expressed when she wrote to her boy's visitor: "Rejoice with me; Jack and I pulled down the last stone in the wall between us in our Sunday night talk and I now feel sure of the love and confidence of my boy. There are years of work in the gardening line—pulling up weeds and planting flowers—but I have accomplished the thing that is the foundation in a case like Jack's. He talks to me now and I have read a lot between the lines and that helps me in handling him. I find my bed-time talks are wonderful helps."

One needs sanity on the question of sex, a resourcefulness in developing interests and in establishing good neighborhood and community contacts, a wise balance between work and play. Such qualities are essential, whether board is paid for the child or whether by service in the home he earns the privilege of attending school, or gives all of his time in return for wages. It is not a question of economic status, but of the best development of the adolescent child.

A doctor's wife, with three small children of her own, considered taking into her family a girl of sixteen to assist in the home with the opportunity of attending school. The girl had lived for several years in an institution, but upon reaching her sixteenth birthday was expected to earn her own way. She was a good worker, but subject to periods of rather deep depression. In the doctor's family no separate room was to be provided for her. She was to use a room occupied by the family during the day, and no recreation, beyond that of attending school and Sunday school every other Sunday, was to be provided. This, the doctor's wife considered ample for any girl who was obliged to depend upon herself for support; indeed, if further provision had to be made she did not wish to consider her.

#### EFFICIENT SUPERVISION

The foster family that is finally accepted for service is precious material and, that it may become proficient in the work, should be shown every consideration by the organization directing the task, for working with someone else's child is far different from working with one's own. The difference in family background, inheritance, health, which often affects behavior, and early training throws the whole situation into a different setting. As one foster mother expressed it: "With our children it was a growth of years from their tiny babyhood. We never lied to them about anything and they just naturally didn't lie. There was so much in their training that we just did without reasoning it out and, beginning at the very beginning, there was

nothing to uproot. There sees, there was no problem about our children. By the time they were big enough to be fairly naughty they had learned not to be."

From the difference in setting there are bound to be storm and stress periods that call for the judgment of a person skilled in the art of adjusting human difficulties, who through the knowledge of many families and many children and, particularly, of the foster family and child in question, can sense the cause and release the tension. This he may accomplish through re-interpreting the child and his people to the foster family, rekindling their sympathy and realization that reeducation cannot come by leaps and bounds, or re-interpreting the family and the new life to the child or the child's relatives. This art of supervision calls for the expression of an appreciative understanding of all that the foster family are endeavoring to do and a contagious faith in their possibilities, which stimulates to further effort. Often the day is saved by the bit of humor, which does so much to illumine the situation for those who are living close to it, bringing to them new hope and courage. Effective supervision means so knowing each foster family and child through keeping closely in touch with them that by timely, definite suggestion many a difficulty may be forestalled and the family helped into attaining a grade of work that, unaided, would be to them an impossibility. Supervision is the crowning factor in developing foster home standards, for it takes, as it were, raw home material and through its creative touch helps to shape the seasoned product.

## Supervision of Placed-Out Children

(With Special Reference to Those Who Should Ultimately Be Returned to Their Families)

By KATHARINE P. HEWINS

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THE office telephone rang. "Dr. Howe speaking. My colored cook wants to find a home for the five-year old child of a deceased friend. She can pay the board and will clothe the child."

Next morning the visitor from the Department of Advice and Assistance in the child-caring agency to which this case was referred, started her investigation. There was apparently little to learn. Diana, the cook, either didn't know or wouldn't tell. "She didn't rightly belong to mah frien'," she explained. "She got her from a lady in New Jersey and I don' jes disremember 'bout her; but anyhow youse is all right 'cause I'm gittin' good wages an' I sho will pay her boahd reglar."

But the visitor needed to know more: who was the child and did she have any relatives; what was her background and what sort of foster home, if any, did she need? Other clues lacking, little Gracie herself was questioned. Carefully and tactfully she was led to describe her life in the city of R—. She recalled her mother. Her name was Kate. Then there was Josie who, together with her mother, had been in the big jail just across the street from where they all lived. With this slender clue in hand, the investigator wrote to a sister agency in R— which skilfully identified the family. Gracie's mother, it appeared, had been born in Virginia of respectable parents and had left her home to hide herself and her shame in the city where she had given birth to this illegitimate

child. Her parents had mourned her as dead and did not know of the child's existence. When confronted with these facts, Diana broke down and admitted she had feared to tell the truth and that Gracie's mother was her own cousin. Correspondence with responsible citizens in their home town found the grandparents pathetically eager to give a home to the child and to atone through her for their lack of understanding of their daughter. And so the little girl was sent south to be brought up by her own people who would love and rear her as no foster parents, however well chosen, could possibly do.

This story serves to illustrate the need of searching investigation before children are received by an agency for placing-out. Only after every avenue has been exhausted, every effort made to keep or to establish a child with his own, should we resort to what is at best only a substitute for the real home with his own father and mother which is every child's right.

In his special message to Congress, following the White House Conference held in 1909, Theodore Roosevelt said: "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons." Over and over again, now in one form now in another, comes the heart wail of a child, "If I only had a mother she would understand." This is the expression of a God-given instinct born in every child and based on

a vital need—"to belong" as so many express it.

It is the recognition of this principle that has brought about the establishment of case work methods of inquiry in the best placing-out agencies. By this means a surprising proportion of applications is found to be capable of family adjustment.

But we must not delude ourselves. Every home is not a home. To keep a child with his natural parents just because they are biologically responsible for his existence may be quite as great an injustice to him as unjustifiably to separate him from them. What is needed in every case is such a weighing and examining of all the facts as shall lead to a decision based on the ultimate and real, and not the temporary or imaginary needs of the child, his family and the community. Such evaluation calls for skilled professional analysis and synthesis of the highest order. It presupposes a high ideal of the spiritual and moral values of family life.

Having reminded ourselves that good investigation often prevents the need of placing, let us consider the child who must be placed-out. Not until social work, like medicine and the law, develops a terminology of its own will social workers fully understand one another's use of terms. For the purposes of this article, the term "placed-out" is used with reference to any child separated for a longer or shorter period from his own blood relatives (other than his siblings) and cared for in a family home under the supervision of an agency, public or private. The term thus used applies to children placed in free homes, at board, or receiving wages. By a child is meant any minor under the age of twenty-one years.

Many child-caring societies have abandoned the institutional method

of care in favor of the more elastic system of placing-out, but too many have failed to follow the child with enough intelligently directed oversight after he is placed. Herein lies the source of much criticism of placing-out. The fault lies in the administration and is not inherent in the system.

#### NEED OF A DEFINITELY FORMULATED PLAN

When an agency assumes the grave responsibility of separating a child from his family, it takes squarely upon its shoulders the onus of a plan for supervision and the means for carrying it out. A deliberate formulation of such a plan at the outset is the first step towards putting it into operation. A second step is the commitment of this plan to writing so that the record is clear as to the intention. Without these steps it not infrequently happens that societies find themselves inquiring as to the underlying reason why this or that child was taken and fail to find the answer in the record. Without a clear-cut statement of the plan the very purpose in mind when the child was received may be unwittingly thwarted and supervision become aimless and desultory instead of pointed and orderly. It is not always possible or even desirable that the first plan should be carried out in full detail. Circumstances may arise later that indicate radical changes. The point is that these changes are more effective when made consciously and with deliberate reference to an original plan rather than in a haphazard and hasty fashion.

Every plan should include a dual supervision: that of the child in his foster home and that of his own family. These two parts of a whole are interdependent and for their best development should be conducted



under the direction of a single visitor. It is often fatal to good supervision of a placed-out child if the family is supervised by someone other than the child's own visitor. With the best of intentions and the most complete understanding of an ultimate end to be achieved, two visitors in the same society, not to mention two of different agencies, find great difficulty in not running counter to each other when they attempt team work of this sort.

#### SUPERVISION

Whatever supervision may be—and here again we need a definition—it is at least something more than an annual or a quarterly "visitation" by an over-worked agent who, upon her return to the office, commits to the record the negative report of "O.K." or "Found child in good condition—seems happy." It is rather such oversight of a child and his family as shall provide him with an environment which shall be a constant justification for the assumption that the supervising society is constructively shaping the life of a future citizen.

The following is an illustration of a failure to give adequate family supervision, whereby an investment became a wasteful extravagance: A child-placing society took into its care three small children. The plan as revealed by the record was: "Place Mary, Jeanie and Curtis while mother, whose prognosis is good, takes treatment at a tuberculosis sanatorium. Aunt Jeanie will take Sophie. As soon as father gets employment he should contribute towards support of the children." All three children were young, normal physically and mentally. It was comparatively easy to place them together in an approved foster home favorably known to the society through repeated use. It was known from the first that only by constant oversight could the

mother be prevailed upon to stay her allotted time at the sanatorium and thus effect a cure. The foster mother's interest was secured and she wrote weekly to her, giving encouraging reports regarding the children's progress. Hard times continued to make it difficult for the father to get more than casual occupation. Though the children's visitor made suggestions of work opportunities by letter and urged him to come to the office, she did not *go to see him* and she did not *personally visit the mother* at the sanatorium. Meanwhile she visited the children with conscientious frequency, seeing them in their foster home and at school. They were taken to the dentist, their adenoids were removed and, last but not least, they went to the circus. The father found time and money to visit his wife and children, but did not contribute a cent for their support or volunteer any explanation of this delinquency.

And then the visitor learned quite by accident that, against advice, the mother had discharged herself from the sanatorium and was living with her husband in furnished lodgings. Their own furniture, not yet paid for on the installment plan, was still in storage. Meanwhile, the aunt who had taken Sophie had decided that if the mother were home she might as well have her child while she, the aunt, took a much desired vacation. The society was caring for the other children under these adverse home conditions. It had failed through lack of family supervision to impress upon these parents the significance of the whole plan and their part in it.

A more constructive bit of family supervision of placed-out children is the following: "Mrs. M—, a deserted wife, asked a child-placing society to care for her three children, fourteen, nine, and two years old,

respectively. The home was already broken up. The father, immoral and a bigamist, had been gone a year. The mother's physical condition was such that an operation followed by a long rest was imperative. The children were placed by the society; hospital treatment and, later, convalescent care were arranged for the mother. She dreaded the ordeal and had to be encouraged step by step. So too she had to be encouraged in regard to tracing and prosecuting her husband. But a patient, painstaking and resourceful visitor saw her frequently and together they worked out the future. At the end of a year, the mother's health restored and regular weekly payments coming from her husband, an apartment was leased, furniture bought and the home re-established. At this point Mothers' Aid was secured and the children returned to their mother. Even then, supervision continued for a year to make sure that all was well. At the end of the year this family was retired to a "perennial inquiry" list, a yearly follow-up that is something less than supervision, but which affords evidence of results both good and bad and serves to check up the work of a society.

And what of supervision of placed-out children themselves? They should be so cared for that when the time comes for return to their families, defects of body, brain and character that can be corrected shall have been remedied. The tendency of the curve of the chart—spiritual as well as physical—should be upward, depending in degree upon the qualities with which the children are originally endowed and the period they are under supervision. And for those who are permanently separated from their kin there is an even greater obligation, for they suffer from a handicap that entitles them to

very special watchfulness and solicitude.

#### ESSENTIALS TO GOOD PLACING-OUT

We would unhesitatingly place personality and training of the supervising visitor as the first essential to good placing-out. And this priority is not in any way belittling but rather emphasizing our second requirement, a good foster home. It is because the selection of the home depends in the first place on the judgment and character of the visitor and also because she has it so much within her power to develop that home through proper use to greater service, that we class her personality and training as of prime importance. A social worker with imagination may make admirable use of a home that looks useless at the outset. The writer recalls such an instance. A fourteen year old colored sex offender, possibly feeble-minded, had contaminated the children in her own neighborhood and was a menace to them and to herself. She needed intelligent observation in family and school life before the doctor could diagnose her as suitable for institutional care. The problem was how to give the child her due and to give it without danger to others. An intelligent childless couple, colored of course, living in a rural community away from neighbors was found willing to undertake the task; but when the school situation was investigated, it was discovered there was a barge ride of some two miles. Determined to master this difficulty, the resourceful visitor prevailed upon a well-to-do white neighbor to allow the child to go back and forth to school daily in her limousine with her own little daughter who was always accompanied by a maid. Thus the problem was solved and it took only a few months to determine

that the little colored girl needed custodial care.

The supervision and education of foster parents by the visitor is as important as her direct contacts with the children, especially the younger ones. Given the essentials of character and an economic status that is above the poverty line, many a foster home of otherwise indifferent development can, with judicious oversight, be brought into far greater usefulness than at first appears possible. In communities where placing-out has been carried on a long time and where foster homes are difficult to obtain in sufficiently large numbers, this is an especially important point. Another and perhaps an even more significant reason for working through foster parents as well as directly with the child, is the more natural relations which it establishes for him with the family. The more a child becomes truly a member of the foster family, and the more he can be identified with their community, the less he considers himself and is looked upon by others as belonging to a group of dependents.

In referring to the responsibility of the state for children in need of special care, Robert W. Kelso says:<sup>1</sup>

It is necessary to the advancement of any community that the forthcoming generation be superior physically and mentally to the generation out of which it springs. Consequently, organized society owes to the growing child who is in need of special care sufficient protection to render reasonably probable his up-growth to the age of self-support with physical health and intellectual attainment equal to that of the average child in the community.

The economic wastefulness of merely patching up broken down human machines is acknowledged. Health

movements throughout the country encourage prenatal and postnatal care for mothers. The Children's Bureau, to stimulate interest in the early establishment of a sound body, undertook the weighing and measuring of all the young children of the nation. Nearly, if not quite one-third of the states now have some measure of physical inspection and physical education in the schools. Dental clinics, school doctors and school nurses testify to the change in emphasis from alleviation to prevention.

#### REQUIREMENTS OF GOOD SUPERVISION OF PLACED-OUT CHILDREN

##### 1. *Physical Care*

Good supervision for the placed-out child means, first of all, a thorough preliminary physical examination by a competent physician. Remediable defects should be corrected. But this alone is not sufficient. Periodic re-examinations must be given. Only in this way can minor ailments be detected and incipient conditions arrested. If it be argued that such care is more than the average child in the community receives today, what shall be said of the dependency handicap from which our placed-out child suffers, and which the child in his own home never knows? This alone would justify any additional safeguards that may be thrown around the placed-out child. If the vicious circle of dependency is to be broken and the child escape the fate of his parents; if, in other words, he is to become a self-sustaining citizen and an asset rather than a liability to society, it will be because his opportunities have been increased and his power of resistance to things physically and morally evil has been strengthened. The line of least resistance for dependents is down stream. It

<sup>1</sup> *Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication no. 60, p. 307.

takes a strong pull and a long pull to head them up stream.

### 2. *Diagnosis of Mental Abilities*

Routine mental examinations for children have not been thought as important as physical, but there is a growing appreciation of their value. Here again, as in medicine, we began by stressing the abnormal, the feeble-minded and the insane. For this reason a certain stigma has attached itself to these examinations, at least in the minds of the subjects and their parents. But when the emphasis is placed on prevention, on the positive value of mental tests as an aid to vocational guidance, coöperation is substituted for antagonism. It is as important that special abilities shall be encouraged as it is that dangerous types shall be segregated. Special classes for the intellectually superior child are coming, more slowly, perhaps, but none the less surely than special classes for the backward.

Well-rounded placing-out supervision includes a diagnosis of the mental abilities and limitations of each child. Such examinations should always be given either by a competent psychiatrist or psychologist. Nothing is more dangerous than the dilettante dabbling by social workers or teachers in this subject. Important as we believe the routine mental examination to be, we would rather see it omitted than given by an unqualified person. Intelligence quotients and mental age levels, if taken by themselves unrelated to other equally important factors, are usually misleading and often pigeon-hole a child in a most unfair manner. Rightly interpreted, they are a great aid to the understanding and fair treatment of the child. Social workers who supervise children should be in close consultation with the psychiatrist who will depend for much of

his data on the child's reactions to environment reported to him by the social worker. Together they will work out a program that shall be best adapted to the child's particular needs.

### 3. *Religious Training*

Religious training is too often but slightly regarded. It must be given in definite form to the placed-out child and no merely negative attitude towards this vital matter should be tolerated. A placed-out child has a right to be put with a family of his own faith where he will receive definite religious training. It is part of good supervision to follow him into his Sunday school and church relations. So long as denominational differences exist, care should be exercised to insure the continuous upbringing of a Protestant child in the particular denomination to which his parents recognize allegiance. In taking this position we are conscious that it is not a popular view, and may not at first seem to square with the religious tolerance with which we are in entire accord. In our experience we have seen many a Protestant child given such a medley of religious instruction in the course of his journeyings from one foster home to another that he has grown up, not with a breadth of view and tolerance on religious matters but rather with a total disregard for worship in any form. Roman Catholic and Jewish children are already safeguarded in this particular. Childhood is not the time to leave a human being adrift in matters which relate to his soul's needs. If he is to develop spiritually as well as physically and morally, he must receive religious education quite as definitely and regularly as he receives instruction in the three R's and the moral code. Later in life he will thus be better prepared to select for himself that form of worship that



appeals most strongly to him, and only thus will he have a foundation on which to build his own faith.

#### 4. *Recreational Facilities*

Play is growth under the supervision of the great achieving instincts, the chief of which are hunting, fighting, creation, rhythm, nurture, curiosity and team play. They form the constant element in the child's life and become the warp of the resulting fabric.<sup>2</sup>

Very glibly the formula that recreation is vital to the all-round development and growth of the individual is repeated, and yet how comparatively little is done about it. As part of a constructive program for the supervision of placed-out children, it is sure to be given more emphasis in the future than in the past. Beginning with the need of the infant for self-expression, this instinct must be given opportunity for growth. It is a well recognized fact that babies do not thrive on the congregate plan. Froebel tells us that no matter how complete the physical surroundings, there is nothing that replaces the mother who, through her natural contacts, develops the play spirit essential to physical growth and even to life with the very young. Later on, play has moral and spiritual significance.

Each age period has its special play features. The dramatic age when the imagination must be wisely guided is followed by the age of reality. Then wholesome outdoor sports make their appeal. An opportunity is afforded to develop team spirit and an obligation towards the rights of others. Play rightly directed, puts a restraint on present gratification for future gain. It is the medium in which self-mastery and loyalty towards others is developed. Foster mothers should be led to regard as essential, recreation

adapted to the age and condition of each child.

For the older children, gymnasium, Boy and Girl Scout activities, skating, swimming and even dancing and music lessons, all in their proper sequence and in accordance with the needs of the individual child, should be arranged, always under careful supervision. Necessary attendant fees should be borne cheerfully by the agency and recognized as legitimate expenses like eye-glasses and dentistry.

#### 5. *Adequate Clothes, Etc.*

The limits of this article forbid more than passing reference to such a detail of supervision as clothing, more important in character-building than many realize. The self-respect engendered in a fourteen-year-old girl who is allowed to make her own purchases under supervision and who thereby receives perhaps her first lesson in thrift and true economy, can best be appreciated by those who have witnessed the change wrought by this means in such a girl who has lived not merely in "hand-me-downs," from older brothers and sisters, but in cast-off garments donated by strangers. A suit "like other folks'" contains a powerful psychological impetus towards better human behavior than we are prone to believe.

Thriftlessness, lack of fore-thought, inability to save for a rainy day grow out of early environment and poor home training. The majority of dependent families come from homes where living is a hand-to-mouth affair. A placing-out society has a wonderful opportunity through its controlled environment to teach budgeting at an early age. Allowances from five to twenty-five cents a week have great educational value. Whenever foster parents can give an allowance to children too young to earn small amounts,

<sup>2</sup> *Play in Education*, by Joseph Lee, p. 62.

they should be encouraged to do so. Whenever they cannot do it themselves, it should be considered a legitimate charge upon the society's funds. In every instance, the child should be held to give a strict account of the money and be taught to budget it for benevolence, gifts, recreation and savings. The age and development of a child should control the amount of the allowance, but a small one carries fully as great educational value as a large. Later on, boys and girls alike should be encouraged to earn small amounts by doing errands, picking berries, wheeling a baby for a neighbor and the like, and these small earnings should gradually replace the allowance.

Supervision of the sort we have in mind cannot be given to a group of children exceeding forty. The group should be smaller if any considerable number of babies, unmarried mothers or other special problems is included. Distance of the foster home from the office as well as accessibility are among other considerations.

#### 6. *Frequent Visits*

One frequently hears the query, "How often ought placed-out children to be visited?" Supervision means so much more than merely visiting that one hesitates to say how often a visit should be made to the foster home. As a guide, but not as a rule, the writer feels that any child who has not been seen in his foster home for two months is in danger of being neglected. As a safeguard against this, certain agencies require the visitor to report such children to a supervisor. Circumstances may justify the visitor in having let this interval elapse. Nevertheless, it is a danger signal and should be watched by a supervisor. Contrariwise, a child, especially when he first comes into care and has been placed in a home that is new to the

society as well as to him, may be visited to advantage weekly or oftener. Adjustments between foster parents and children are facilitated by sympathetic oversight. A dictatorial overlord attitude on the part of the visitor must never be indulged in and, above all, anything approaching a spy attitude should be discouraged. Rather should there be established a frank comradeship whereby the visitor is accepted as next friend, but a companionship that in no way sets aside the child's relationship to the foster home. It is a delicate balance to maintain, this ultimate responsibility of a society for the welfare of the child and the development of an at-home atmosphere between foster parents and children. Those who have done it testify that it is a workable adjustment.

#### SUMMARY

To sum up the principles of wise placing-out:

1. Children should be separated from their own families only after all practical measures have been exhausted for continuing or making possible reasonably good family life.

2. When it is clearly indicated that the family cannot be maintained with advantage to the group, and placing-out is shown to be desirable for the child, and when it may be looked upon as treatment designed to reestablish the child in his own home, or when this is impossible, to set him on the road to maintaining an honest and industrious life, then:—

3. Such constructive supervision shall be given the child and his family as shall tend to correct the conditions which made the separation necessary.

4. The placed-out child, being under a dependency handicap by virtue of his lack of parental care, needs all the safeguards and opportunities for a full development of his powers that the

average child in the community needs, plus special safeguards and even greater opportunities because of the handicap from which he suffers.

When we speak of dependency we do not limit ourselves to economic dependency; on the contrary we would include the child dependent upon others than his natural protectors for love and sympathy and understanding. Nothing can replace the mother who, looking into her child's face, sees her own and her husband's weaknesses and strength reflected there and seeing knows and understands and loves and forgives as no other human being ever can do. Nothing that human ingenuity can devise will replace good parental care in the life of a child. In spite of all our efforts, preventive and remedial, many thousands of children fail of this, their just due. When this happens, whether through the fault of

the individual or of society, it is society's obligation and its own safeguard to give the best substitute possible. For most children this is a foster home, carefully selected with the needs of the individual child in mind, and supervised by a naturally endowed, well educated and specially trained person who has the fundamental qualities of tact, humor and love of her kind.

Time was when any well disposed decadent female of uncertain years was thought equal to the task of directing the lives of placed-out children. Today the job is looked upon as of such importance and dignity that it ranks as a type of work which calls for careful preparation and study of the technique of case work. The social surgery which is implied in the separation of a child from his family is a task big enough to challenge the interest of the best minds.

## Social Responsibility for the Protection of Children Handicapped by Illegitimate Birth

By KATHARINE F. LENROOT

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**I**N its bearings upon social standards, family relationships, infant mortality, dependency and neglect, illegitimacy occupies a place of more than usual interest. Among all races and peoples from the time of the establishment of the marriage institution, the problem of birth out of wedlock has been present. As marriage became interwoven with private property and inheritance rights, the stigma upon illegitimacy increased, and also the hazards to which the child born out of wedlock was subjected. In an effort to prevent illegitimacy and to stamp out infanticide, which was alarmingly prevalent, Church and state in the Middle

Ages imposed drastic penalties upon the mothers. The children were deprived of civil and ecclesiastical rights; though during this period the beginnings of the modern movement for the protection of such children were seen in the establishment of foundling asylums, with their *tours* in which children could be left secretly.

Modern times have seen a marked change in the attitude of society toward the child born outside the sanction of the law, though only within recent years has this altered point of view been crystallized into legal form. From the decree of Napoleon forbidding inquiry into paternity, it is a long

step to the French laws permitting such inquiry, enacted shortly before the War, and the proposal for more thorough enforcement of paternal responsibility, made by a French delegate to the Second International Congress for Child Welfare held in Brussels in July of this year. In England, under the common law the child of illegitimate birth has been termed "*filius nullius*," and the only recognition of responsibility on the part of the parents for his support has been under the poor law or governed by its policies; but only recently a strong reform movement has been led by the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child. A bill backed by the National Council and for some time pending in Parliament, recognizes that the child born out of wedlock has two parents, both having certain obligations toward their offspring, and that the state owes especial protection to all such children. A substitute bill, much modified, is now before Parliament.<sup>1</sup> But it is the Scandinavian countries—first Norway and then Sweden—which have led in enacting legislation assuring to the child of illegitimate birth some approximation of the parental care and support accorded the child born in wedlock.

In the United States, illegitimacy legislation has mainly followed the English precedents. It is only within the last ten or twelve years that a movement has developed which has already placed upon the statute books of several states more just and adequate laws, based upon the theory that the children are innocent and that, so far as such advantages can be secured by legal and social measures, they are entitled to the same benefits of home life

and parental care as are enjoyed by children of more fortunate birth.

#### THE PREVALENCE OF BIRTH OUT OF WEDLOCK

In the United States it is very difficult to secure adequate data on the prevalence of birth out of wedlock, even in the states—comprising 58.6 per cent of the total population—which are now included in the birth registration area. The proportion of unregistered illegitimate births is undoubtedly greater than the proportion of unregistered legitimate. The entry of incorrect information on the birth certificate further invalidates the figures, and the failure of many states and cities to compile separate statistics for illegitimate births reduces still further, the amount of information available. The figures that can be obtained indicate a problem not so great in extent as in most European countries,<sup>2</sup> but of sufficient proportions to demand serious attention and study. In eight states in the birth registration area in 1915, the number of live births reported as illegitimate per 1,000 single, widowed, and divorced women of child-bearing age (15 to 44 years) was 4.6. This percentage was lower than in any European country for which figures were obtained except Ireland.

In most states for which data can be secured, the percentage of illegitimate live births ranges from seven-tenths of one per cent to 2.4, if Negro births in states having large Negro populations are excluded. Table 1 shows the per cent of illegitimate live births in 28 states, 22 of which are now in the birth-registration area.

In twenty-one cities having more than 100,000 population, statistics of illegitimate births are available and

<sup>1</sup> For debates on the English bill, see *Parliamentary Debates*. H. C., Vol. 128, No. 57. See also *Maternity and Child Welfare*, London, Vol. 3, No. 4 (April, 1921), p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> For prevalence in Europe, see U. S. Children's Bureau, *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*. Part 1, Washington, 1920. Pp. 10-15.



TABLE 1

PER CENT OF LIVE BIRTHS REPORTED ILLEGITIMATE IN TWENTY-EIGHT STATES OF THE UNITED STATES \*

STATE	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Alabama:						
White .....	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.1
Negro .....	14.1	13.7	12.8	10.0	11.6	14.4
Connecticut† .....	1.1	1.0	0.9†	1.1†	1.0†	..
Indiana† .....	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5
Kansas† .....	..	..	0.7†	0.6†	0.7†	..
Kentucky:†						
White .....	..	..	1.0†	0.7†	1.0†	..
Negro .....	..	..	7.5†	8.6†	10.4†	..
Maine† .....	..	..	1.0†	0.8†	1.1†	..
Maryland:†						
White .....	2.4	2.2	1.7†	1.8†	1.9†	1.7
Negro .....	20.7	20.5	17.1†	17.1†	18.0†	19.5
Massachusetts† .....	2.3	..	0.8†	0.7†	1.0†	..
Michigan† .....	1.7	..	1.2†	1.2†	1.3†	..
Minnesota† .....	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8
Missouri .....	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.9	3.0
Nevada .....	0.9	1.9	1.0	0.3	0.5	0.7
New Hampshire† .....	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.3
New York† .....	..	..	1.0	0.9†	1.0†	1.0
North Carolina:†						
White .....	..	..	1.6†	1.4†	1.5†	..
Negro .....	..	..	12.5†	11.4†	11.5†	..
Ohio† .....	..	..	1.3†	1.3†	1.5†	..
Oklahoma:						
White .....	..	..	..	..	0.8	..
Negro .....	..	..	..	..	6.1	..
Indian .....	..	..	..	..	2.5	..
Oregon† .....	..	..	..	..	1.4†	..
Pennsylvania† .....	2.0	1.8	1.8†	1.8†	1.9†	..
Rhode Island† .....	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.3	..
South Carolina:†						
White .....	..	..	..	..	1.7†	..
Negro .....	..	..	..	..	13.6†	..
South Dakota .....	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.7
Texas .....	1.0	1.0	1.2	..	1.2	1.8
White .....	..	..	0.6	..	..	..
Negro .....	..	..	7.8	..	..	..
Utah† .....	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.8†	0.8†	..
Vermont† .....	1.9	1.4	1.8	1.3†	1.9†	..
Virginia:†						
White .....	..	..	2.0	1.8	1.8†	..
Negro .....	..	..	14.3	13.3	13.0†	..
Washington† .....	..	..	0.9†	0.8†	1.0†	..
Wisconsin .....	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.5†	1.2†	..

\* Unless otherwise indicated, the data were furnished by state departments of health and bureaus of vital statistics. For figures for earlier years, see *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part I, cited above, p. 23. In some states it was impossible to tell with absolute certainty whether or not stillbirths were included in the number of births, especially in the number of illegitimate births.

† States now in the United States birth registration area.

‡ U. S. Bureau of the Census: *Birth Statistics for the Birth Registration Area of the United States*, 1917, 1918, 1919. Washington, 1919, 1920, 1921.

are given in Table 2. The percentages for most of these cities are larger than those for the states in which they are located.

In 1919, the Children's Bureau made an estimate of the total yearly average of white illegitimate births in the United States, by applying the average number of illegitimate births per 1,000 single, widowed, and divorced white women of child-bearing age in the sixteen states for which statistics were available, to the estimated number of all such women in the country. From this estimate, it appears certain that at least 92,000 white children are born out

of wedlock each year.<sup>3</sup> To what hazards these unwanted and unwelcomed babies are subjected will be shown later in this discussion.

#### THE BACKGROUND OF ILLEGITIMACY

Who are the mothers and fathers of these many thousands of children born out of wedlock each year? With what heritage are the children endowed? What are the possibilities of care by the mothers and fathers, and to what extent is the protective aid of the community, exercised through public or private agencies, a necessity? All these questions are involved in the

TABLE 2  
PER CENT OF LIVE BIRTHS REPORTED ILLEGITIMATE IN TWENTY-ONE CITIES OF THE  
UNITED STATES HAVING MORE THAN 100,000 POPULATION \*

CITY	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Baltimore:						
White .....	3.1	2.6	2.1	2.5	1.7	1.3
Negro .....	24.5	22.7	21.6	23.1	20.9	21.8
Boston .....	4.6	..	..	..	..	..
Buffalo .....	2.1	2.2	2.5	1.8	2.2	1.9
Cincinnati .....	3.8	2.8	2.3	2.6	3.0	2.9
Cleveland .....	2.3	..	..	1.2	..	..
Denver .....	2.8	2.9	3.6	4.0	3.4	3.2
Detroit† .....	2.6	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.7	2.2✓
Grand Rapids, Mich. ....	3.7	4.1	3.4	2.9	3.2	3.2✓
Hartford .....	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.1	1.7	2.2
Kansas City, Mo. ....	6.1	6.2	7.9	8.2	11.9	13.6
Milwaukee† .....	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.3	2.5	2.7
Minneapolis .....	4.3	4.0	4.0	3.8	3.3	3.9
Newark .....	1.4	1.3	1.1	..	..	..
New York .....	1.2	1.1	1.0	..†	1.1	1.1
Philadelphia .....	2.7	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.6
Pittsburgh .....	3.0	..†	..†	..†	2.9	2.8
Providence .....	2.1	1.7	2.1	2.1	1.6	1.8
St. Louis .....	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.6	4.2	3.7
St. Paul .....	5.1	4.5	5.0	3.8	4.1	3.9
Toledo .....	2.6	1.7	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.0
Washington:						
White .....	2.3	1.6	2.3	1.4	1.8	2.0
Negro .....	19.5	18.2	18.8	15.9	17.0	15.9

\* The data were furnished by state or city departments of health or bureaus of vital statistics. For figures for earlier years, see *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part I, cited above, p. 25.

† Includes stillbirths. The percentages would have been slightly lower had stillbirths been excluded.

‡ Not available.

<sup>3</sup> *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part I, cited above, pp. 26-27.

formulation of a wise social program.

Recent studies have shown that many of the mothers—from one-ninth to about one-fifth in various groups for which information has been obtained—are but children themselves, being under the age of eighteen years. About the same proportion of the fathers are under the age of legal majority. Available information indicates that the great majority of the mothers are gainfully employed prior to the child's birth, chiefly in domestic service or as semi-skilled factory workers. Almost half the fathers are in the ranks of semi-skilled workers, laborers or servants, though a large percentage are skilled workers or clerks and kindred workers.

One-fifth of the mothers of infants born out of wedlock in Boston during one year, for whom the information justified classification as to mental condition, were known to be below normal mentally, 8.8 per cent having been diagnosed as feeble-minded. These are understatements. Considering together the mental condition of parents and maternal grandparents, only fragmentary information being available, it was found that of 2,178 children born out of wedlock who were under care of social agencies, at least 19 per cent had a heritage in which there was known or probable insanity, feeble-mindedness, or other subnormal or abnormal mental condition. In 9 per cent of the cases there was definite feeble-mindedness or insanity in the family history.

Repeated infractions of the moral code, serious alcoholism, or other anti-social characteristics were reported in the histories of 42 per cent of the mothers of children born out of wedlock in one year, for whom social information was available, while the mothers of 54 per cent of the children under care of social agencies and of the same per cent of children under care of the state,

were so reported. Considering together the character of mother, father, and maternal grandparents for the group of 2,178 children under care of social agencies, only 38 per cent of the children had parents and grandparents who were of good character, so far as known. The mothers, fathers, or maternal grandparents of 62 per cent were alcoholic, immoral, otherwise delinquent, or of poor character.<sup>4</sup>

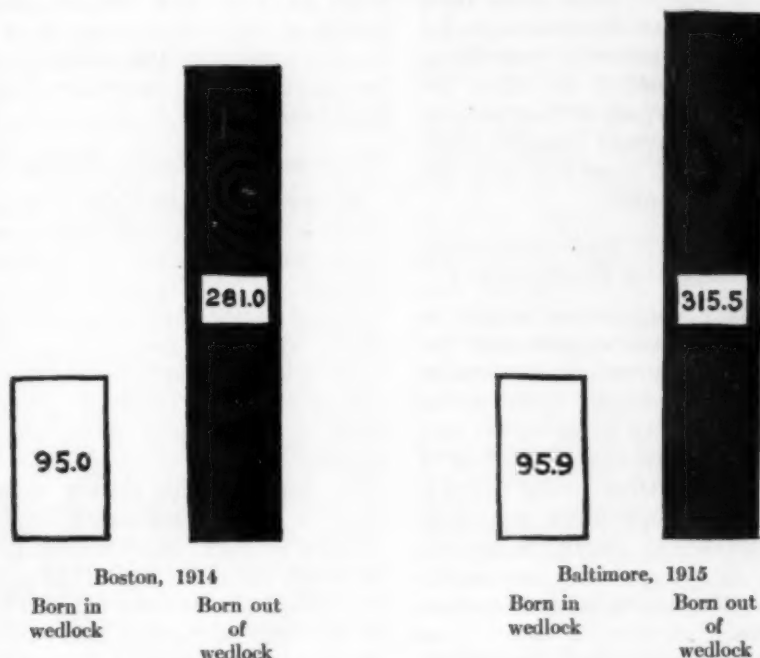
#### THE HAZARDS OF ILLEGITIMACY

*Infant mortality.* Wherever comparative figures are available showing infant mortality rates among babies of legitimate and of illegitimate birth, they tell the same story of the hazard to life and health to which the latter are subjected.

In Baltimore in 1915, white children of legitimate birth died at a rate of 95.9 per thousand, while the infant mortality rate for white children of illegitimate birth was 315.5, or 3.3 times as great. In Milwaukee, in the two-year period 1916-1917, the infant mortality rate among children born out of wedlock was 236.8 per thousand—two and one-fourth times as high as the rate for children of legitimate birth. In Boston, in 1914, the infant mortality rate based on the number of births and of infant deaths in that year, was 95 for children of legitimate birth and 281—three times as high—for those born out of wedlock. Early separation of the mother and child and the consequent difficulties in feeding undoubtedly account in large part for these excessive rates, though the rate for diseases of early infancy, closely associated with prenatal and natal conditions, was in Boston nearly three times as high as the corresponding rate for children of legitimate birth.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part 2, and also Part 3 (in press).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Part 2, and also Part 3 (in press).

COMPARATIVE INFANT MORTALITY RATES FOR INFANTS BORN IN WEDLOCK  
AND BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK

*Deprivation of parental care and support.* By the circumstances of their birth, children born out of wedlock are deprived of the care and affection of both parents given under normal home surroundings. Separation from the mother at a very early age is a common experience. Recognizing the relation between separation from the mother and infant mortality, the laws of two states forbid the separation of mothers and babies under six months of age, while in a third state and in the largest city of a fourth, the same purpose is attempted through regulations by official bodies.<sup>6</sup>

A majority of the children born out

<sup>6</sup> Maryland, Laws 1916 c. 210; North Carolina, Laws 1917 c. 59; Minnesota, Joint Resolution, State Board of Health, State Board of Control, 1918; "Milwaukee Program for Unwed Mothers Proves Value of Breast Feeding," by Louise Drury, *The Crusader*, Vol. II, May, 1920, p. 18.

of wedlock receive no financial assistance from their fathers. Of 2,178 children of all ages under care of Boston agencies, the fathers of only 674—not quite one-third—were known to have contributed in any way to the support of the child or to have given the mother financial assistance; the fathers of two-fifths of 629 children less than two years of age under care of Philadelphia agencies, and the fathers of three-tenths of 271 children of the same age under care of Milwaukee agencies, had made such contributions, informally or through court action.

*Hereditary handicaps and environmental difficulties.* The hereditary handicaps which are the lot of many children born out of wedlock have already been indicated in the discussion of the background of illegitimacy. Besides being deprived in a large pro-



portion of cases of normal home life and of parental care and support, children born out of wedlock often suffer from other environmental disadvantages, including extreme poverty, poor living conditions, immorality or other delinquencies on the part of those responsible for their care, and frequent shiftings from home to home and from one type of care to another.

#### THE RELATION OF ILLEGITIMACY TO DEPENDENCY AND DELINQUENCY

Illegitimacy contributes largely to the burden the public must bear for the care and support of its weaker members; dependency upon social agencies is likely to begin earlier and to last longer in the case of children of illegitimate birth than among dependent children born in wedlock—except in those areas where almost immediate adoption is the rule in practically every instance coming to the attention of agencies.

More than one-third of the children born out of wedlock in Boston in one year were, during infancy, given prolonged care by child-caring or child-protective agencies. One-sixth of the cases under care of private child-caring agencies during the year, concerned children of illegitimate birth; one-ninth, of the cases under care of the public child-caring agency of the city, and almost one-fourth, of those under care of the state child-caring agency.<sup>7</sup>

The relation between illegitimacy and juvenile delinquency is naturally less close than that existing between illegitimacy and dependency, but the indications are that children born out of wedlock contribute more than their share to the numbers of juveniles who come in conflict with the law or who are wayward and difficult to control.

<sup>7</sup> *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Part 2, cited above.

Probably this may be in part attributed to the shifting of the children from home to home and the comparative readiness with which custodians who are not parents of the children ask to be relieved of their care when they are troublesome.

#### STANDARDS OF LEGAL PROTECTION

In most states the child born out of wedlock bears practically the same relation to the mother, in matters of support and inheritance, as the child of legitimate birth; but in practically all states, up to the present time, it has been held incompatible with the interests of the legal family to place the child of illegitimate birth upon an equality with the child born in wedlock, with respect to his claims upon the father. North Dakota in 1917 and Arizona in 1921, enacted laws declaring every child the legitimate child of his natural parents and entitled to the same degree of support and education whether born in wedlock or born out of wedlock. Certain states give limited rights of inheritance from the father. Iowa, Wisconsin, and Missouri by a 1921 law, give rights of inheritance from the father whose paternity has been proved during his life time.<sup>8</sup>

Special forms of legal procedure have been developed for the establishment of paternity and the securing of support. Extreme examples of the inadequate amounts specified in many of these laws are found in the laws of one state in which the judgment is for a fine of \$10 and a single payment of \$50; and in the laws of another where the amount allowed is from \$1 to \$3 a month.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, laws relating to support are rendered still less effective by the limited use that is made of them. Within the past

<sup>8</sup> U. S. Children's Bureau: *Illegitimacy Laws of the United States and Certain Foreign Countries*, by Ernst Freund, Washington, 1919, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

few years has come a great awakening of interest in legislation affecting children born out of wedlock, which for a century had been in a static condition. A law greatly increasing the support-obligation of the father was enacted in Massachusetts in 1913. In 1917, Minnesota passed one of the most liberal laws on the statute books of any state, and, in its administrative features, perhaps the most effective.<sup>10</sup>

As a means of bringing to a constructive conclusion its studies on illegitimacy as a child welfare problem, and at the request of the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, an organization representing about twenty local groups and many individual members, the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor held in 1920 two regional conferences on standards of legal protection for children born out of wedlock. The conclusions of these conferences may be summarized briefly as follows:<sup>11</sup>

1. All births should be registered, but in the case of an illegitimate birth the name of the father should be recorded on the birth certificate only after an adjudication of paternity or with the father's written consent. All births not clearly legitimate should be reported to a public agency having the responsibility for child welfare.

2. Proceedings to establish paternity should be initiated by the mother, or, if she is unwilling, by the public agency above referred to. The law should provide for the use of either a civil or a criminal proceeding, the court should be equipped with a staff of probation officers or other social case workers and the proceedings should be as informal and private as possible.

3. The Chicago conclusions stated that "the father of a child born out of wedlock should make financial provision for the ade-

quate care, maintenance, and education of the child, having reference to the father's economic condition." The New York resolutions included the statement that "the obligations for support on the part of the father should be the same for the child born out of wedlock as for the legitimate child." Settlements out of court in order to be valid should be approved by the court.

4. After an adjudication of paternity or an acknowledgment in writing by the father, the child born out of wedlock should have the same rights of inheritance as the child born in wedlock, and assumption of the father's name should be permissive.

5. Whenever possible, the mother should be persuaded to keep her child during the nursing period at least.

6. The duty of the state to protect the interests of children born out of wedlock was recognized and affirmed; it should be exercised through state departments having responsibility for child welfare. The parents should not be permitted to surrender a child for adoption, or to transfer guardianship, or to place it out permanently for care, without order of the court or state department, made after investigation. The state should license and supervise private hospitals which receive unmarried mothers for confinement, and all private child-helping and child-placing agencies, giving full opportunity for the development of private initiative.

As an outcome of the regional conferences, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, organized to draft measures on subjects concerning which uniformity among the states is considered desirable, was requested to take under consideration the legal protection of children born out of wedlock. At the 1920 meeting of the conference a committee on the status and protection of illegitimate children was appointed with Professor Freund as chairman. A report which included a first tentative draft of a uniform illegitimacy act was presented to the annual meeting of the conference, held in Cincinnati August

<sup>10</sup> Massachusetts Laws 1913, c. 563; Minnesota Laws 1917, cc. 194, 210, 212.

<sup>11</sup> U. S. Children's Bureau, *Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born Out of Wedlock*, Washington, 1921, pp. 14-19.

24 to 30, 1921.<sup>12</sup> After discussion, the bill was referred to the same committee for further consideration and report next year.

Under the draft, the father is made liable for the expenses of the mother's pregnancy and confinement. The mother owes the child maintenance and support as if the child were legitimate. The father owes the child maintenance and support, having regard to the condition in life of the mother, until the child reaches the age of sixteen years, or if the child is physically or mentally incapable of working, until the child arrives at full age; thereafter the obligation of the father is to be that of a lawful parent under the poor laws. The father's obligation, where paternity has been judicially established or acknowledged by him, is enforceable against his estate, subject to the equities of his widow and lawful children. Agreement or compromise is binding only when adequate provision is fully secured and when approved by a court having jurisdiction to compel support of the child.

#### SOCIAL MEASURES FOR THE CARE OF THE CHILDREN

Social responsibility for the protection of children handicapped by birth out of wedlock must be exercised along three lines: The prevention of infant mortality; the insuring, so far as possible, of a mother's care and a father's support; provision for children whose parents cannot care for them.

Efforts to reduce the appalling infant mortality rate among these children include: Provision for maternity care—prenatal, confinement and postnatal; care of the mother and infant which will enable the mother to keep her child

with her during the nursing period at least; medical oversight and health supervision, as effective as that deemed necessary for infants of legitimate birth; and effective state supervision and licensing of private lying-in hospitals, boarding homes for infants, and all agencies and institutions caring for children, including the supervision of infants in institutions and of those placed in family homes.

The legal provisions by which some measure of support by the father may be secured, have already been discussed. To insure the child care by his own mother, not only during infancy but also in the years following—in many cases impossible—often involves prolonged financial assistance and careful supervision from social agencies. But a mother's care, whenever that may be secured, is the right of every child, and separation from the mother should not take place except for urgent reasons.

The essentials of adequate care for the many children born out of wedlock for whom no possibility of permanent care by their own parents exists, are the same as for children of legitimate birth who must be cared for by agencies and institutions.

With the possibilities of constructive social action, which may result in a lessening of the problem of illegitimacy and extra-marital sex relationships, a subject calling for earnest and thorough-going consideration, this discussion is not concerned. The development of technique in the study of the mental life and social reactions of individuals points toward future possibilities in social control. But the existence of the child born out of wedlock calls for present action which will safeguard the rights and secure the fulfillment of the obligations of the four parties at interest—the child, the mother, the father and society.

<sup>12</sup> National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws: Report of the Committee on Status and Protection of Illegitimate Children, August, 1921.

## What Can Be Accomplished Through Good Social Work in the Field of Illegitimacy?

By J. PRENTICE MURPHY

Secretary, Seybert Institute

IT is time to ask ourselves the question in our title and imperative that we try to answer it. For a vast amount of thought and service is being expended by an almost innumerable group of people working in the field of illegitimacy—a field which has become very inclusive during the past ten years. Our reactions run a wide gamut as we survey accomplishments in work with and for unmarried parents. They range from the emotional exhalation of the non-critical worker who is concerned only with temporary superficial responses, to the questioning and despair of the thoughtful and highly trained worker who reads into her tasks every pessimistic implication. Human nature at times becomes too much for her and she sees failure as a constant accompaniment to her work. It is the latter type of worker, however, who has the most to teach us—and it is not, on the whole, a discouraging lesson.

The question raised brings interesting responses when put to such trained workers. One of wide experience feels that social work with unmarried mothers is, on the whole, a fruitless and expensive task—save in so far as the children of the mothers are assured protection from bad care and neglect. She also feels that the expense involved in good case work with any large number of unmarried mothers is justified only as a research measure with the view to pointing the way to checks and controls over the causes back of illegitimacy. Another worker who has had many contacts with unmarried parents feels that the results of her efforts as shown in their better conduct, happy

homes, etc., are so gratifying as fully to justify the expenditure of time and money. Still another social worker has observed the difficulty of maintaining long and continuous contacts with very many unmarried parents, because the experiences which have brought them to the attention of the social worker are such that the parents want to shut out the light of publicity at the earliest possible moment.

Our services to unmarried parents consist of certain direct personal services and certain indirect impersonal mass services, the latter group including many of the educational and preventive measures which look to an actual control over and prevention of illegitimacy so far as this is possible.

### BASIC ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

We must keep clearly in mind some aspects of the problem before us: ~~namely~~—the basic desire of human beings for sexual experience; the involved and ramifying nature of the sex instincts; the element of constant uncertainty that is so large a part of these instincts; the fact that nature is far more powerful as it works upon any given number of men and women than are these same men and women in any individual, deliberate and thoughtful control they may be able to exercise over their own actions. Sex experimentation, whether in practice or in theory, will necessarily and inevitably accompany the development of every generation. When we add to this constant element within all human beings, the disadvantageous social elements that make up the lives of such a large



portion of our population, we can see that the problem becomes more rather than less complicated. It should further help in our understanding to realize that so far as we know, illegitimacy is one problem with which every group in the past has wrestled unsuccessfully—if elimination is the measure of success.

There have always been those who give birth to children in the face of conventional strictures and unless society perfects and sanctions measures of complete birth control, a step which is highly improbable, these unconventional births will continue to be factors in social life. The process is quite beyond our complete control. Moreover, illegitimate sexual experiences void of the probability of parenthood are more dangerous socially than where the relationship ends in parenthood.

#### HIGHER STANDARDS IN CASE WORK FOR UNMARRIED PARENTS

But let us see wherein we can make some progress. We can raise the general standard of our social case work, which, taking into account all the agencies doing unmarried mother work, is very low. Careful social diagnosis as a matter of general procedure is unknown to many of the workers in these agencies or, if known, is considered undesirable or impossible of attainment. The Federal Children's Bureau's study of illegitimacy in Boston shows how great is the need for more light, and that this light can come only through a knowledge of the personal histories of many mothers, gained in actual thoroughgoing social case work contacts. We can strive for such a standard that generally over the country no one will be placed in a position of power or responsibility in a society or institution doing work for unmarried mothers, who is not a trained social case worker. We can strive to make the whole process

involved in the separation of a child from its unmarried mother—if such is to take place—a matter for the most careful and sympathetic study and action. We can do much to remove it from the field of emotional action in which it so largely rests at the present time.

#### LESS HURRIED ADOPTIONS

We can insure that adoptions will never be entered upon hurriedly; that the mothers will have every chance to weigh and review their own decisions, or, what is often quite as important, the decisions of others, involving a permanent separation from their children. We can also insure the passage of sufficient time between the decision to separate and the signing of final papers by the adopting parents. If we submit sufficient evidence as to what happens when these simple checks are neglected we may expect to affect the thoughtless and unconsidered actions of most of our courts in adoption proceedings.

#### COMPLETE VITAL STATISTICS

The indifference of so many states and communities to the question of adequate birth registration should be one of our first points of attack. Accurate and well-nigh complete birth registration is a matter of routine procedure in most European countries. We can make it so in this country. It is a fundamental part of any child welfare program, especially where the children of unmarried parents are involved.

As it is now, a very large number of children of such parents are never officially born. This is true in a lesser degree of legitimate children. But the neglect on this score in the case of children of unmarried parents makes the continuance of criminally negligent care hard to combat. Every good, social work program for babies necessitates complete birth registration.

### ELIMINATION OF THE PROFITEERING AGENCY

We can eliminate the profiteering agency. Some of the worst and most persistent offenders in the heartless job of playing on the fears of unmarried parents and bartering in their babies, are institutions and maternity homes under church control. We can eliminate the mercenary child-placing societies whose work is largely that of "baby snatchers" and who finance themselves through payments not only from the parents but from the adopting parents as well. There is no more disgraceful situation in social work than the easy and continued existence of these types of money-making pseudo-social agencies.

We can insure that every agency receiving babies of illegitimate birth shall give them good care, so that it will be a gateway to life and not to heaven. The mortality rates of a great many societies and institutions caring for these babies have been and are appallingly high. The application of good social case work will prevent this.

Where foster care is felt to be necessary, we can apply good home-finding methods to the task and thereby eliminate the bad homes. We can keep reasonably full records of both history and treatment. We can make it a general fact that social work with unmarried parents shall be restricted to licensed and properly supervised agencies, and that all families taking unrelated babies be licensed and supervised.

### INTERSTATE STANDARDS

We can insure that the agencies in each state shall not try to impose on the agencies in other states by unnecessary and unstandardized interstate placements. There should be minimum requirements for all such placements, the

outstanding points of which will be that the babies have been separated from their parents only after due thought and that, so far as can be ascertained, they are physically and mentally well. It is certainly not the task of organizations engaged in this special field to find babies for all the childless couples in the United States. Own children for own parents, is a good motto to follow. Some of us become almost hysterical if we fail to register each day, one child taken from its own mother and placed in the arms of an adopting foster mother.

### HEALTH SAFEGUARDS

We can see to it that all that has been said about the supreme importance of good health to the child in his early years, especially the first four or five years, is made a fact. The Federal Children's Bureau's Boston study mentioned above shows how great are the physical handicaps from which illegitimate babies suffer. Every trained social worker knows that numerous so-called social agencies are responsible for the imposition of a great many of these handicaps in hundreds of communities. The best in medical care should be given to these babies and, difficult as this task will be, it can be done.

We should do a great deal for the parents in regard to physical examinations and also medical care, when the latter is needed. Certainly there should be the greatest accuracy and thoroughness in examinations for venereal diseases and in their treatment. The importance of such care will make it necessary for an extension of work on the part of the larger centers of population in any given state so as to provide special services for mothers whose own homes are in the less populated and more rural districts. The long time follow-up work needed where

syphilis or gonorrhea is present is a health task that we simply cannot ignore. Testing for the presence of these diseases should be a routine matter in each case.

The development of good case standards by hospital social service departments will make possible their doing a very fundamental health work, which is now in many instances going by default. In this connection, it should be observed constantly that social case work in all of its phases, in social service departments and elsewhere, suffers considerably because practically the whole job is now being done by women. The lack of men case work practitioners must be met, if at all possible.

#### CONTROL OF FEEBLE-MINDED GIRLS

The factor of feeble-mindedness in mothers in relation to illegitimacy is something against which we can contend with increasing success. It is a fight that will lead to the discovery of mentally defective girls before pregnancies result. No social case work phase of the illegitimacy situation in any community will yield more immediate results along preventive lines than the early and accurate diagnosis of the mentally unfit and, particularly, the socially unfit within this group, and the securing of their proper care. The problem of the feeble-minded unmarried father is very negative. He possesses no courting abilities; his earning power is low; he cannot treat and entertain or pay for entertainment—hence he is left very largely out of the running. If we can protect the uncontrolled feeble-minded girls and women, we shall have won one of our hardest fights. Good social case work will be needed to orient and define just how far it is safe to permit community life for certain types of feeble-minded females. A whole series of case studies

of women in these groups must be made to bring out under what conditions and under what pseudo probation restraints illegitimate parenthood, at least, may be avoided.

#### SOCIAL WORK IN THE SCHOOLS

We now come to a group of mass or indirect services which many social workers feel will have a more lastingly preventive effect on illegitimacy than all the other forces and activities named. (Social case work must be applied in the public schools from the very early grades if we are to grow a race of adults that will approach sex matters with a trained and educated point of view. As has been pointed out by leading school men, the public schools bring large masses of children together in hitherto unknown ways and release interests and desires which have the sweeping power of a flood. Adolescents have always, to a certain extent, experimented with their sexual functions. The massing of thousands of adolescents with no special machinery for their proper social diversion simply increases the number of experiments. That there are such experiences is a matter not for surprise or priggish horror but for calm and thoughtful study.

We are beginning to get light on the sex lives of so-called normal men and women. To a very surprising extent, thoroughly reputable adults reveal that in their adolescent years they indulged in sex relations—often out of curiosity and, in general, with no permanent ill effects. They lacked adult instruction, guidance and understanding, and sought the nearer and more easily understood statements of their own age groups. Just so long as the co-educational high schools offer few protections and few opportunities for calm and wise treatment and understanding of the irrepressible sex inter-

ests of growing children, just so long will a considerable stream of illegitimacy flow from these same schools. According to the statement of those who know, it is already quite large.

Social case work in the public schools is one of the most productive and far-reaching opportunities before social workers. It is certainly not the socially pathological task which best describes most of the work that has to be done by agencies working with unmarried mothers. Work in the public schools will surely result in the early draining off and diagnosing of the serious conduct cases—the mental cases and the social misfits.

We can do much in the field of recreation, the full social effects of which most of us misunderstand. Social work applied to recreation will not mean the paternalistic control over individuals which we seem sometimes to advise, but it will be an adequate and proper supervision of the forces of recreation by public authorities. It is useless for us to permit the existence and operation of recreational centers which by suggestion and open acts invite the breakdown, on the part of the individual, of wise and necessary social control. On a purely case work basis, we can prove that the conducting and supervision of recreational activities is a public and not a private task. We can also prove that the element of private profit in the field of recreation makes for the existence of many special evils which are found so frequently in illegitimacy problems. Recreation is as much a public function as is education.

#### POSSIBILITIES IN INDUSTRY

Social case work as applied to industry will make increasingly clear the relationship between fatigue and sex delinquencies; between types of industries which are bad social risks and the

wreckage thus caused; between sex hygiene in the industry and industrial efficiency. From many stories gathered from many unmarried mothers, industry takes little responsibility for preventing the existence and the continuance of destructive social forces within the job or office, which finally bring a girl to her social ruin. Little thought is now given to supervision in this field but as industry broadens itself, by social case work contacts through employment managers and directors of personnel increasing opportunities will be offered for making clear a social responsibility resting upon the employer, which, if carried out, will result in a very definite decrease in certain types of illegitimacy.

#### POSSIBLE GAINS THROUGH SEX EDUCATION

Social case work as applied to the field of sex education has limitless possibilities. We have only begun to see wherein a wholesome knowledge of sex, beginning with the very early years of childhood and continuing all through life, will tend to supply fit substitutes for much that is unwholesome and dangerously experimental and which is so very common in the life of today. One looks almost in vain through the histories of unmarried mothers for evidences of wholesome and normal sex understandings. An almost inevitable factor in each case is a degree of ignorance about life and reproduction and the significance of the love element in life, which can be removed and will be removed if only the right forces are brought together.

As we project further studies into the field of child welfare, we shall come to see with increasing clearness the dangers involved in the mass care of dependent and delinquent children. We can now see with accuracy how great is the damage being done today



through the foster care being given by institutions and placing-out societies to many thousands of children scattered all over the country. From the best of evidences obtained through careful case studies by good agencies, the total damage must be very great. Some day more of us will come to see that the mass care of girls having histories of sex delinquencies should be a last, rather than a first plan of action. For one cannot devise a more dangerous remedy for a girl so handicapped than an introduction to a large group of girls practically all of whom have had the same sort of experience.

#### IMPROVED LEGAL PROCEDURE

We can affect the legal procedure with reference to illegitimacy cases so as greatly to minimize its destructive effect upon the mothers who must come under it. Social case work within the courts will help to supply the elements of sympathy, imagination and understanding, the absence of which makes many courts serious anti-social agencies from the standpoint of a good illegitimacy program. Greater privacy can be assured and the influence of women judges and social workers can be felt more continuously in the sessions of the court. Certainly in the estimation of many thoughtful social workers, the present general judicial procedure creates rather than dispels difficulties in the work of social treatment, and likewise has very serious effects on the mental life of many mothers. Furthermore, as social case work tends to socialize the methods of the court it will likewise tend to affect the means that must be followed not only in getting orders for support on the fathers, but in seeing that adequate orders are made and that their collection does not result in such a large burden of non-payments and irregular payments to be borne by the mothers.

The financial risks should be assumed by the community in which the court sits.

We are prone to set before ourselves social case work standards which can scarcely ever be realized. It will be of value to any one of us to record, as the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy has done, the total social and financial costs involved in the treatment of one case of illegitimacy and then to multiply this by thousands in order that we may get the full picture of what a reasonably well done case work job for all mothers in a given community would involve. It likewise will pay us to review the results achieved in a group of fifty carefully studied and supervised unmarried mothers, let us say, in order that we may get a proper set of values and a proper perspective on the various tasks that have to be performed.

It is my opinion, after careful deliberation, that, on the whole, the more thoroughly we do social case work for unmarried mothers, the more truly will we be forced to work back step by step to the causes of illegitimacy and to the control or elimination of a great many of these causes. It is a fact that work for unmarried mothers involves the attempt at an unpleasant and irksome control over individuals (largely adults—at least in their experiences), such control being permitted for the time being simply because of the specific social handicap under which the mother is laboring. Much that we try to work out through our social case work supervision, involves mental and social readjustments that few individuals are capable of making. Herein lies one of the great obstacles and difficulties in work with unmarried mothers. We arrive, in all but a few problems, at a period in the mother's life which does not permit our affecting her actions, her thoughts and her daily processes to any very great extent.

What she is, she will be. It would, therefore, seem to be true that the more thoroughly we do our social case work, the more we are going to break away from repressive personal controls and get out into the broader fields that lie in education, health, recreation and proper training of children during early years.

We speak of long continued supervision as a necessary accompaniment of good social case work. Each social worker knows from actual experience, however, that with new work coming on day by day we do not possess the workers or the funds to give this suggested type of supervision to more than an infinitesimal number of mothers.

Moreover, as we study our social case work material through periods sufficiently long, we shall see that, if the mothers are of normal mentalities the major part of the burden of readjustment rests on their shoulders. Social case work, therefore, applied to the field of illegitimacy is going to supply that fund of information the lack of which we are only beginning to sense. Knowledge here will surely mean power—power that will lead us to a more economical use of resources and equipment so that by careful work with all growing children we may prepare more of them for the opportunities and privileges of a deliberate and responsible parenthood.

## The Development of Social Work for Child Protection

By C. C. CARSTENS, Ph.D.

Director of the Child Welfare League of America

**T**HE field of social work for children is extensive and complex. Perhaps no other has as many ramifications that cross over into other fields. In no other, have more specialties been developed.

In spite of the varieties of services which are included in this field, the various divisions have on the whole had a steady and untroubled course of development. Institutional care of children, child-placing, juvenile probation and infant welfare have all come into public recognition, have found each its province in relation to the rest and have developed coöperative relations with the other social agencies with which they came in active contact, all with little friction, controversy or discussion. The newer arrivals in the children's field, such as the visiting teacher, the vocational guide and the child-health visitor seem to find an appreciative clientèle and are establishing

their permanent relationships without difficulty.

The child protection movement alone of all the specialties, seems to be a field full of divisive controversy. The nature of its work is so vital to the maintenance of the family tie that the agencies of the movement have had to shape definite, consistent and well thought out policies and to defend them vigorously. When the child is unable to get the proper protection in its own home, children's protective agencies have not hesitated to ask the courts as a last resort to cut the family tie. This course is so abhorrent to certain people who do not realize the menace that a brutal parent or an immoral home may prove both to the child and to the welfare of the community, that it often becomes the subject of bitter legal and public controversy.

Not only have children's protective societies felt the effects of controversy

with their outside critics, but there has also been a very definite diversity of opinions within their own ranks. This diversity is expressed both by holding a different conception of their functions and by adopting a difference in social procedure. The differences, indeed, are so fundamental that the public should know the principles involved, and so take its part in intelligent action at the proper time.

The formal children's protective work is at present vested in large measure with societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and with humane societies. Agencies, both public and private, with other designations also share in a limited way.

#### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT

Societies for the legal protection of animals have been in existence in England since 1824<sup>1</sup> and in America since 1866<sup>2</sup>; but it was not until 1875 that the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was incorporated, the first of its kind, and, strangely, promoted first by those interested in the legal protection of animals.

The New York Society very quickly proved its usefulness. An intelligent and vigorous group of men took an active part in its development. It gained financial and moral support. More effective laws for the protection of children were urged and, on the basis of its experience, placed upon the statute books. It became a powerful instrument, under private auspices, for the enforcement of law and came to be wholesomely feared by the evil-doer.

The establishment of this society was only the beginning of the child

protection movement. In the same year similar societies were organized in Rochester, New York, Newburgh, New York, and every year for many years additional societies took up the work.

Before 1875 humane societies had previously been organized in many cities, that had the protection of animals, old people and prisoners as parts of their programs, with varying proportions of interest. Most of these now added the protection of children to their already quite diverse activities. This work has, however, never become a very important part of the program of humane societies although there are certain notable exceptions, such as those in Cleveland and Cincinnati. With this limitation, the child protection movement in America is represented at the present time by about five hundred societies and branch agencies scattered throughout the United States and Canada.<sup>3</sup> England has a very well equipped society and others are found in her various dominions, notably India, and in other countries of Europe.

#### THE NEW YORK SOCIETY

The efficiency of the New York Society in law enforcement set a standard among the various agencies which most of them for many years in more or less halting fashion have imitated. But beside setting a standard in efficiency, it laid upon the whole movement its own interpretation of function which has proved to be narrowing.

In the minds of its founders, the New York Society was to be an organization for the enforcement of law. It did not concern itself with the causes which lead to tragedy in the child's life or with their removal except as might be incidental to the individual

<sup>1</sup> In 1824 the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in London.

<sup>2</sup> In 1866 the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in New York.

<sup>3</sup> In Canada the children's aid societies with government subventions carry on children's protective work.

case. The Society was primarily concerned with the rescue of the child suffering from brutal treatment and living in degrading surroundings, and it presented such evidence to the court that those guilty might feel the heavy hand of the law. This view came to be best expressed and crystallized in a decision handed down by the New York Court of Appeals, January 9, 1900. The New York State Board of Charity had sought to extend its supervision over the work of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children because it was charged by law with such supervision of the work of private organizations undertaking charitable work and particularly, charitable agencies receiving public funds. Since the New York Society had received \$30,000 in the year 1898 from the treasury of the City of New York and since the State Board of Charity considered that agency a charity, it sought to perform its duty by inspecting the Society's building and shelter for children and by supervising its finances and its work. The New York Society thereupon brought suit to prevent the Board from performing such inspection and supervision, on the ground that the Society was not a charity. The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court held it was a charity, and the New York Society appealed to the Court of Appeals which reversed the decision by a vote of 4 to 3.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of his decision Judge O'Brien stated that the "corporation (New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) was created for the purpose of enforcing laws enacted to prevent cruelty to children and that is the only object or purpose of its existence"; and Judge Gray added in his comment, "giving it a distinct place from those institutions which being of a charitable, eleemosynary, correctional

and reformatory nature, are made subject to the authority of the State Board."

To this interpretation of its function the New York Society has consistently clung all these years, until very recently. In the Annual Report of the General Manager of the New York Society for 1919 there appears for the first time in its publications an indication of the broadening of its program. This significant passage reads as follows:

The assistance and supervision rendered by the Society in the rehabilitation of homes has continued to be a most gratifying feature of its work. Children are removed from the custody of their parents or guardians only when such action has become imperative, and, in every case, effort is made to encourage in the guardians a proper sense of their responsibility and a determination to reconstruct their homes upon a better standard, in order that their children may be returned to them. Every effort is made to save the children to their homes.<sup>5</sup>

The restricted policy of the New York Society because of its clear-cut form of statement and its preëminence in size and quality of enforcement service, set the pace for most if not all other organizations of this kind. But even when following the policy of the New York Society in general, there were those which conceived their function in the protection of children more broadly and did not hesitate to be called charities or to be supervised by the agents of boards of charities, even if such supervision implied acknowledgment of doing charitable work.

#### THE MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY

From the First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Society for the Preven-

<sup>5</sup> Annual Report of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1919, p. 23-24.

<sup>4</sup> 161 New York Reports, p. 233.



tion of Cruelty to Children<sup>6</sup> we quote the following:

The Society is not limited to checking actual cases of abuse and neglect by rescuing the children or punishing the offenders. It aims to inculcate better ideas of child government and in this its efforts are not confined to the brutal classes.

One of our methods of relieving children is to reform the parents. . . . The parents are put on probation, recognizing always the parental rights, and the fact that institution life is not the natural life for children and does not fit them for the best manhood and womanhood. When the home life is not degraded, or can be essentially improved, it is better not to separate parent and child.

The Massachusetts Society did not consistently develop this point of view which was expressed so early in its existence. In common with many others it was largely influenced in its development by the New York Society. Its law enforcement as a consequence became its most important function for many years. In spite of this, its policies did not require such a rigid separation from relations with all other social effort as the New York Society urged and cultivated. During the last fifteen years there has been a more marked divergence, and the preventive and constructive phases of child protection have come strongly to the front in its program. In this same period of time, other children's protective agencies have also recognized more clearly the importance of the preventive phases of their programs. Among those showing this tendency most strongly are the societies in Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Newark, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis and more latterly, Cincinnati.

<sup>6</sup> Annual Report of Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1881, pp. 20 and 22.

#### RESTRICTIONISTS VS. LIBERALS

These two interpretations have led to much controversy within the membership of the children's protective movement. The restrictionists have maintained a separate annual meeting in connection with the American Humane Association, a day and a half being set apart for the discussion of subjects relating to the protection of children, while the rest of the time is given to the discussion of animal protection. The liberal wing, which is still small but seems to be growing in numbers, is, on the other hand, allying itself actively with the Children's Division of the National Conference of Social Work, because there only does it get an opportunity to interpret its principles to thousands of social workers who are actively interested in the protection of children and who are daily working for their betterment.

These diverse positions have led to many other more important diversities in development. The restrictionist group, considering themselves, first of all, agents for law enforcement, have recruited their paid personnel from the ranks of truant officers, deputy sheriffs, constables, poor officials or other public agents. This is particularly true where the work done is not extensive and only part of the time of the official is taken for the children's protective service. Such limitations in the personnel tend to emphasize a restricted program, with the result that in many cities and states the children's work of humane societies is so limited in extent, viewpoint and effectiveness that the citizens either do not know that it exists or have ceased to depend upon it for tangible results.

#### PRESENT STATUS OF THE MOVEMENT

There are no reliable statistics showing the extent of children's protective

work in America, but an intimate acquaintance with the history and extent of the movement leads the writer to the conclusion that this service, which is largely under private control, is being increasingly supported from the public purse and that if public subventions should cease, many of the "humane officers," in whose hands rests the protection of children of the nation, would close their offices and seek other jobs. A large majority of the five hundred or more societies have not now and probably never have had the financial backing or support to maintain themselves by private contributions and income from investments. In a number of states humane societies receive part of their support from fines imposed by the courts and from fees.<sup>7</sup> Many of the children's protective societies listed by the American Humane Association do not respond to letters and have become "inactive." It may be inferred from this and other reports that a considerable number included in this list are not functioning actively in child protection or are largely paper organizations.

This is not a very satisfactory prospect for the protection of the children of the nation. The program of the New York Society appealed to the imagination and humanity of thinking people of the decade after the Civil War. A number of strong societies sprang up, prospered and have continued to render good service in this field, but the precarious existence of the movement in most parts of the country is ample cause for serious consideration by philanthropist and ordinary citizen as to what the future of the movement shall be.

The New York Society deals with about 18,000 neglected children a year, and the Massachusetts Society, being organized on a state-wide basis, with

<sup>7</sup> Dog taxes maintain a considerable number of humane officers in Ohio.

about 15,000. City and country both seem to furnish their quota of neglected children and there are few communities where some active work for their protection is not needed.

#### PROTECTION OF CHILDREN A PUBLIC DUTY

In all of our states, public provision has been made for the protection and training of delinquent children and in many of them the state is beginning to recognize its public responsibility in the care of children who have become dependent through poverty, sickness or other accidents of life. These states, either directly or through county units, furnish assistance to good mothers to maintain their children with them or provide the children with institutional or family care.

Important as this work is, the protection of children from brutal parents and from degrading surroundings is equally a public duty which states cannot continue to shirk without endangering their moral welfare and their financial prosperity. It is an accepted fact that the prevention of delinquency is largely a prevention of juvenile delinquency. And it can be equally well shown that it is the poorly functioning home that provides the conditions out of which come a very considerable proportion of our delinquent boys and girls. This is the stake that each intelligent community holds in tactful, persistent and energetic child protection. Here and there evidence may be found that child protection is thought of as a public function, such as the establishment of state departments for child and animal protection and state boards of children's guardians. The continuous appropriation of subventions to private children's protective societies can be interpreted only on the basis of their work's being considered a proper public function.

### CHANGED EMPHASIS IN CHILD PROTECTION WORK

The first twenty-five cases reported by the New York Society might be analyzed as follows: Beating or other physical cruelty, 13; children begging and accompanying an organ grinder, 2; children sent out by parent or guardian to beg, 2; attempted assault, 2; abandonment of child, need of medical care, child found intoxicated, child living in immoral resort, father not supporting child, and commitment to institution without court action, 1 each. A little later the protection of little children from the cruelties attending the training of young acrobats became an important part of that society's work. These are all important tasks in the process of child protection. They were largely concerned with the physical care of the child. The less obtrusive and equally important services, to safeguard the child's training and morals, were but slightly represented; but these have now become the most important part of the program of any well equipped children's protective agency.

The brutal treatment of children has been much reduced, partly no doubt because of the work of children's protective agencies, and the more preventive phases have come to the front. An analysis of the case work of the Massachusetts Society in a recent year showed that only 6 per cent of its cases dealt with cruelty, which played such an important part a generation ago.

It is clear, then, that with the better comprehension of the dangers to child life, the program of child protection must necessarily broaden as well as become more fundamental. A community that would give its children who have not proper protection at home, the safeguards to which they are entitled, should have an agency with the

physical equipment and personnel commensurate with the task.

Child protection is rarely all done by a single agency. Often many public and private agencies contribute to the carrying out of a comprehensive program. It is customary, however, for the community to look to the children's protective society for the largest part of the work and for leadership, provided there is one in existence.

### A PROGRAM FOR CHILD PROTECTION

In every community the following services must be rendered by some agency to ensure for all the children, "a square deal."

1. Children must be protected from physical brutalities. Though these are less numerous than before, they are always degrading even when not dangerous.

2. Children must be protected from early exhausting and degrading labor. The public now generally frowns upon the child acrobat, but child labor is still in great demand and seems in better standing since the War.

3. Children should receive suitable physical care at the hands of their parents and guardians. This includes proper medical and surgical care, recommended by physicians of standing in the community. While an honest difference of opinions is found on certain medical questions among medical men, children's protective agencies have rarely undertaken to enforce medical care where there was clear disagreement among practitioners of unquestioned standing.

4. Children, and particularly girls, need a vigorous agency in every community for their protection from early sex irregularities. The prosecuting attorneys of many communities are learning to render this protection, but in most places the prosecutions for sexual abuses to girls below the age of consent

are apt to be either futile because their testimony is poorly used or brutal and demoralizing to the girl witness. Courts should be required to modernize their procedure so as to give greater protection to the girl without removing reasonable safeguards for the accused.

5. Children should also be protected from immoral associations even where they are not directly concerned in immoral acts. This depends in large measure upon an active coöperation with the police departments of our communities. Most police officers are not appealed to in vain where the welfare of the child is involved, if they can see what it means to the child and if what is asked is legal and reasonable.

6. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether a man should support his wife under all circumstances, but there is none as to the responsibility of a father to support his children. To leave children dependent in a community is coming to be recognized as a crime whose effects are registered upon mind as well as body. The limitations which state lines bring to the enforcement of laws against abandonment and desertion are very serious. Perhaps a satisfactory solution of this problem will come only when the Federal Constitution makes it possible to enforce domestic relations in Federal Courts.

7. The child born out of wedlock needs an active agency in every community to safeguard his reasonable rights. Our communities are beginning to render this service, notably the state of Minnesota. One of the services is the enforcement of maintenance against the father, either by court action or by voluntary acknowledgment of paternity.

8. Crippled children and others suffering from physical or mental defects must be given all the opportunities and training that the science of medicine

and the art of education can provide, so that as far as possible they may become self-supporting citizens. Where this is impossible, they should have the protection of good public or private care. This does not preclude a good children's program from urging all reasonable measures for the elimination of the unfit.

9. Children should be protected from constant contact with habitual gamblers, drug users and criminals.

#### NEED FOR A PUBLIC CHILD PROTECTING AGENCY

But it is not enough that measures be taken for the enforcement of these standards, which are already largely expressed in the laws of our various states. Each one of our communities needs to have an agency that is alert to its changing needs in child protection and that, without running off on every possible tangent, will stand for a reasonable and well approved program. Such an agency would assist its community or state in becoming sensitive to children's needs, and would work with other agencies in the shaping and carrying forward of a complete social program for children who require intervention in their circumstances because of their own misfortune or the misfortune of their parents.

If this program is to be carried forward with any reasonable success over any considerable area, the state in its public capacity must step in to assume at least a part, and that, probably the largest part in the undertaking. Here and there certain of these tasks are already undertaken by a public agency. Boards of children's guardians in the District of Columbia and in West Virginia now include limited children's protective programs in their work.

The withdrawal of the Humane Society from the field of child protection has in certain cities led to the de-



velopment of a limited program of child protection in connection with certain active and well equipped juvenile courts. The Juvenile Court of Chicago is the best illustration of this tendency. But the juvenile court does not seem the logical place for locating this responsibility. The trend of child protection is toward an early recognition of menacing conditions. Instead of having most of its work adjusted by court action, a well equipped agency requires court action in a decreasing proportion. It is therefore more suitable to have such service rendered by a state agency with county or district units of service.

Just as in the care of dependent children private agencies are rendering a valuable supplemental service wherever a public agency has become active

in their care and placement, so in the field of child protection the private agencies can be equally valuable. Such private societies become experimenters, moulders of public opinion and anchors for the maintenance of good public ideals and standards.

The child protection movement of the humane societies has on the whole reached such a precarious position that it is no longer performing its public function in any adequate manner. A few strong societies, chiefly located in large cities, have met the need, but largely with a restricted program. It is of the utmost importance that a new public service in child protection should be created, or, where it has already begun, that it should be extended to give all unfortunate children "a square deal."

## Problems of the Colored Child

By EUGENE KINCKLE JONES

Executive Secretary, National Urban League

IN public recognition Negroes represent a *class* as well as a *race*, and inherit the status fixed for both class and race divisions of our population. Without affirming any differences in instinct, racial traits or family structure, it is a fact that the problems of the colored child have special and distinct features. His problems are not only the regular and expected problems familiar to social workers given greater volume and intensity because of the economic class to which most colored children belong, but they are these problems further complicated by the circumstances of the Negro's social status, which limits his participation in the normal scheme of adjustment. With more than 70 per cent of the Negro population of ten years of age and over classed as wage earners and

over 70 per cent of these wage earners classed as unskilled, Negroes constitute an economic class upon which the burden of child rearing falls hardest. The factor of race intensifies these difficulties by the addition of others.

### THE PROBLEM OF ILLITERACY

The heavy illiteracy rate among Negro children, especially in the South, is frequently taken as an evidence of native backwardness and parental indifference. Granted that both of these alleged causes are factors worthy of consideration, there is still a frightful inadequacy in school facilities which renders them insignificant deterrents by comparison. In 1910 the per cent of Negro illiterates ten years of age and over was 30.4. The percentages varied with the states from 7.9 per cent in

New York to 38.7 in South Carolina. In these figures is reflected not only the influence of the compulsory education law but the provision, or rather lack of provision, for school facilities as well. For example, whereas New York has compulsory education and provides the same schooling for Negroes as for whites, South Carolina maintains separate schools in which the average yearly expenditure for each white child is \$11.14 as against \$1.25 for a colored child. Not only are colored children not urged to attend school, but there are not even enough school buildings to accommodate the colored children who apply for admission. In South Carolina, for example, 39.2 per cent are out of school; in Florida, 47 per cent and in Louisiana, 56.4 per cent. Monroe N. Work, editor of *The Negro Year Book*, has estimated that on the basis of a nine months' school year it would take a Negro child 22 years in Louisiana, 26 years in Alabama and 33 years in South Carolina to complete an elementary course.

These handicaps are maintained in many sections through the strength of a very common belief that education unfits Negroes for the real labor for which they are destined; that placing them in school would interfere both with the planting and the harvesting of crops and that a more equitable distribution of funds would prove unfair to white tax-payers. These opinions prevail in spite of the very persistent warning of students of the problem that the lack of this schooling and discipline eventually registers itself in dependency, delinquency and crime, which in time entail a greater financial and moral burden on the state.

#### EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN THE NORTH

In the North there is also an educational problem for colored children. The northward movement of Negroes

since slavery and the migration of a half-million Negroes from the South following the outbreak of the World War, have brought thousands of children from the wretched schools of many sections of the South. When reclassified according to the more regular and rigid requirements of northern schools they become over-age pupils—large, awkward children, ranging in ages from thirteen to eighteen, in classes with children of seven and ten. The severe embarrassments to them increase truancy problems, delinquency and rebellion against home and school discipline. In 1915 a study of five hundred Negro children in the New York public schools, which accommodated the largest number of children whose parents represented the new-comers, revealed that 60.5 per cent of the normal children were over-age for their grade. Some had entered school there for the first time at the ages of twelve and fifteen.

A similar study in 1920 by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations disclosed practically the same condition in Chicago. It was further disclosed, however, that where the children remained and provisions were made for the ungraded pupils, they reached their normal grades in two or three years.

#### INFANT MORTALITY

One of the most serious of the special problems is that of reducing the high infant mortality and the prevalence of diseases among colored children; for in this is reflected the conditions under which they must live. The startling disproportion in the infant mortality rate between white and Negro children emphasizes public ignorance and negligence. The infant death rate among Negroes is enormous, in some cities mounting as high as 200 infant deaths per 1,000 births.

According to figures of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which numbers among its members one-sixth of the entire Negro population in the United States, the Negro death rate among its industrial policy holders is 60 per cent greater than that of the white. Tuberculosis, preëminently a disease of young people, takes a heavy toll. For colored boys insured by the company, this rate is eleven times higher and for colored girls, eight times higher, than the rate for white boys and girls, respectively, of the same age period. Malaria, typhoid fever, syphilis and hookworm also have a disproportionately high sickness and death rate. Louis I. Dublin, Chief Statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, in presenting these facts before a conference of the National Urban League, said: "Whether we look at the records of the draft examinations or the figures of mortality among policy holders of the Metropolitan, we find the same fact in evidence; namely, very much higher rates among colored persons from those diseases and conditions which reflect the sanitary conditions of the environment." Practically all of these diseases carrying such a heavy death toll can be checked through closer attention to sanitation, water and milk supply, food handling, garbage disposal, general housing conditions and instruction in personal hygiene. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, through encouraging efforts along this line has helped to reduce the death rate among its colored policy holders 9 per cent in eight years.

In New York City alone, the colored infant death rate is 164 deaths per 1,000 births as against 82 per 1,000 births for whites. Twice as many Negro babies die each year as white babies. Although the white population is more than thirty times that of

the colored, only seven times as many white boys and girls as colored boys and girls under fourteen years of age, died in New York during 1920.

The general Negro death rate is 21 per thousand as compared with 12.88 per thousand for whites. The expectation of life for white males is 46 years; for Negro males, 37 years; for white females, 52 years; for Negro females, 39 years. Thus the colored child starts out in life under a handicap, as the forces that make for longevity are less apt to be associated with his environment than they are with that of the white child.

These figures suggest, too, a lack of centers for instruction, and lack of participation in the existing agencies designed for this purpose. An intensive campaign of education and a constructive program of service to reduce Negro infant mortality in New York City conducted in 1915 by the various social agencies there, led by the City Department of Health, resulted, in two years' time, in a reduction of Negro infant mortality from 202 per 1,000 births to 173 per 1,000 births.

#### COLORED CHILDREN IN "COMMUNITIES OF THEIR OWN"

The obvious difficulties for colored children in connection with the unsanitary quarters in which they are placed are but a part of the problem. Negroes whether in the South or North are, in the main, most effectually isolated from the rest of the community in what many persons are fond of referring to as "communities of their own." Here deterioration is permitted to proceed without the bolstering influence of municipal regulation or private capital. They are the "Negro quarters" and consequently neither force nor merit attention. In many southern cities municipal neglect has become notorious. In northern cities these Negro

neighborhoods become a dumping ground for the vicious and demoralizing agencies of the city, white as well as black, which seek such places because of their immunity from police interference and effective public protest.

A report of the Chicago Vice Commission, deprecating the forced association of the Negro population with vice, said:

The history of the social evil in Chicago is intimately connected with the colored population. Invariably the largest vice districts have been created in or near settlements of colored people . . . so whenever prostitutes, cadets and thugs were located among white people and had to be moved for commercial or other reasons, they were driven to undesirable parts of the city, the so-called colored residential sections.

No discrimination is exercised in the classification of Negroes. They are all "Negroes" and their children must live within these confines exposed to the undermining influence of the vicious elements of white as well as colored crime and corruption. How active these influences are may best be observed from a study of the juvenile delinquency figures for Negroes.

#### PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

In New York, the Negro population is 2.7 per cent of the total population of the city. In 1920 Negroes contributed, however, 3.3 per cent of the juvenile delinquency. In Chicago, the Negro population is 4.5 per cent of the total; in 1920 the Negroes contributed 9.9 per cent of the juvenile delinquency. The officer of a juvenile court in one of the large cities of the north in explaining the higher delinquency rate among Negro children attributed it to "the crime breeding environment in which they have to live," lack of privacy at home, working parents and consequent lack of home supervision.

It should be stated, however, in defense of the normal law-abiding inclination of the colored child that in New York City in 1915, colored children contributed only 1.7 per cent of the total juvenile delinquency while the Negro population was over 2 per cent of the total population of the city.

Social studies recently have been pointing out the relation between delinquency and recreation. The provision of playgrounds and recreation centers in Chicago, for example, reduced delinquency on an average of 44 per cent in the sections over which their influence extended. A Cleveland study discovered that in 75 per cent of the cases of delinquency there was a direct relation between this delinquency and the children's spare time. Thus another problem with Negro children also arises from the general absence of recreational facilities in Negro environment.

The Harlem section of New York City in which more than 75,000 Negroes live, has not a single regularly equipped playground. Chicago playgrounds practically skirt the Negro residence areas and in two instances, where large publicly maintained recreation centers are located on the edge of a thickly populated Negro neighborhood, the hostile sentiment and intimidations by whites who visit the centers prevent any use of them by Negro children.

The lack of these provisions is not wholly due to deliberate neglect. Negroes, it must be remembered, usually live in the oldest sections of the city where property values have declined to the size of their purses and where improvements usually have ceased. General community improvements, as well as new recreational centers, are usually placed outside of such sections.

But there are other factors entering



into the delinquency problem. A prominent cause assigned for delinquency among Negro children is parental neglect. Much of this has been forced by the necessity for both parents to work. The economic struggle thus manifests itself. The wife must supplement the income of the head of the family. In cities where there is lax enforcement of the compulsory education laws or *no such laws*, the children themselves are pressed into the service of supporting the family. Although this is more patently an economic than a racial question, the pressure of this necessity is more widely diffused among this group because relatively it comprises so large a section of the whole.

#### ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

The incentive for continuing in school is much dampened by the apparent lack of opportunity to utilize special training. The doors of industry and business are effectually barred against Negroes except in the lower and more menial branches of work. Persistent effort to extend the field of opportunity by Negro organizations and the necessary admission of Negroes to many coveted positions during the labor scarcity of the early days of the War, have accomplished some advancement in this line but the major difficulties are still but slightly affected. Such was apparent in a study recently made of Negro women in industry in New York City. In the group of colored women studied were many who had completed elementary school courses, high schools and colleges. But whereas of the white and colored women studied 8 per cent more colored had finished elementary school and 9 per cent more had attended high school and college, but few of the colored women had been able to use their special training. The report states:

But few of the specially trained women found work in the trade for which they had been prepared. Occasionally they found their niche through the placement department of the schools and sometimes through personal initiative. Nine trade-trained women entered the Post Office Department under civil service examination. Others, discouraged by seasonal fluctuations and the handicap of color, took places as ladies' maids, elevator operators, etc.

One would have to wait in an employment bureau for many days to hear of even one request for a colored bookkeeper or stenographer. Yet a number of women had been specially trained as stenographers. These finally entered factories doing unskilled, monotonous work—their spirits broken and hopes blasted because they had been obliged to forfeit their training on account of race prejudice. School teachers were among these new recruits in both skilled and unskilled industries. Some had been grade teachers, two had taught in high school, and one had been a supervisor in a normal school.

#### SUGGESTIONS OF OTHER SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES

It is apparent that problems of the Negro child are special only in so far as the general attitude of the public, influenced by traditional racial sentiment, has operated to make them so. When Negroes are isolated from the rest of the community as a group different and distinctive with a mode of treatment for them already outlined, neglect and indifference are expected. For they are more an appendix than a functional part of the community. Thus it is that general social organizations as a rule conduct their activities over the heads of the Negro community, which is by no means separate and distinct by choice.

In Cincinnati, for example, where the Negro juvenile delinquency rate is 12 per cent of the total while the Negro population is only 7 per cent, probation work touched but fifteen Negro

cases. The Juvenile Protective Society of Chicago does not cover the areas of Negro residence. Movements like the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Brotherhood Republic—character builders of youth—indifferently touch the lives of Negro youths.

When the seriousness of Negro cases reaches the point of demanding institutional care, other difficulties appear. In most northern communities colored and white children are accepted by the same institutions. Usually the proportion of Negroes is smaller, both in proportion to the Negro population and in proportion to the cases of Negroes requiring institutional care. For Negro feeble-minded there is little care in the North and practically none in the South. The superintendent of one northern institution for the care of feeble-minded expressed a view that many Negro children thought to be feeble-minded were not really so, but only appeared so by comparison with white standards! How far this misapprehension, undoubtedly shared by others, has operated to affect the volume of present Negro feeble-minded in institutions, it is impossible to say.

Commenting on the alarming inade-

quacies throughout the country, and especially in the South, Hastings H. Hart, Director of the Department of Child-Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation, says:

This is a matter of great moment because the neglected feeble-minded colored children swell the ranks of paupers, criminals and vicious persons, and also spread social disease. It appears to me extremely important that the southern people should become aware of the fact that in neglecting the colored children they are hazarding the interest of the white population almost as much as that of the Negro population.

Appeals for participation by Negroes in social service programs have been directed on the basis of experiments demonstrating that where Negro children are provided with the same prophylactics their health, crime, illiteracy and dependency rates are reduced to proportions comparable with those of white children. The crux of the problem, however, is the unyielding bloc of public disinterest and opposition which holds fast to traditional restraints, both economic and sentimental, and which makes the Negro's struggle for existence more severe.

## Helping the Farmer Through His Children

\$100,000,000 Worth of Children on the Farm

By OWEN R. LOVEJOY, LL.D.

General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

THE National Child Labor Committee's interest in the country child is no new thing, and yet we still find people to whom it is a shock to discover that farmwork may be considered child labor. For in the minds of many people those words, "child labor," still call up only the pathetic image of a haggard and wizened child

of seven years, or it may be ten or twelve, dragging an enormous dinner pail into a factory at dawn. And it is true that for years the plight of the factory child, or at least the child engaged in those pursuits commonly classified as industrial, has been emphasized almost to the exclusion of all other children. But this does not necessarily in-

dicade that no other children deserve our whole-hearted attention. In fact, it merely indicates that in attacking an enormous problem we have taken one step at a time, for our aim from the very beginning has been to reach every child in America, if necessary.

When the National Child Labor Committee was organized in 1904, the country was just awaking to conditions in our cotton mills; the great coal strike of 1902 had called attention to the numbers of child workers in Pennsylvania coal-breakers; the Consumers' League had recently opened its fight against tenement homework, and the first investigators were going into the fish and vegetable canneries where women and children were working interminable hours. So it was very natural that our first work should be in the interest of these children in industry, of whom the public knew a little. Indeed, it seemed obvious that whatever our ultimate aim, our immediate task must be to collect authoritative information on what the public knew only in the smallest part, so as to turn their interest into real knowledge, and that knowledge into action.

It has been a long, hard fight, so long and so arduous that it appears to be a sad commentary on American civilization; but there is no need of going into details now. The fact is that it is at last established in this country that children under fourteen years of age shall not be employed in factories, canneries or workshops, or children under sixteen in mines or quarries; that no children shall be employed for more than eight hours a day, or at night. In making that statement, however, we do not mean to imply that no children are working under such conditions in this country today, for we all know the vast difference between law and its absolute enforcement. But we do mean to say that the principle, at least,

is established, and that its establishment has allowed us to go on to the next step. For there is still a long way to go on the road of real protection and development for American children.

These minimum standards for industrial workers mean nothing if they are not backed up by good school regulations, health protection, recreational facilities, continuation and vocational schools, and so on. And we are not even sure that the minimum standards themselves are adequate. Many of us, indeed, are sure that they are inadequate and that for the health and well-being of the nation we should keep all children in school and out of industry until they are sixteen at least. But, however that may be, the fact remains that such standards are now established, but that in taking account of stock we find there are thousands of American children at work who are in no way affected by them, American child wage earners of whom America is shamefully ignorant and careless.

#### NUMBER OF CHILD AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

*One child out of every eight in America, from the ages of ten to fifteen, who is in work not usually called industrial, is engaged in work not regulated by any state or federal statute. And at least 70 per cent of these children are doing some sort of agricultural labor. The census of 1910 lists 259,813 children between ten and fifteen years of age as "farm laborers working out" and 1,157,323 children between ten and fifteen years of age as "farm laborers on the home farm."<sup>1</sup>*

We are not making any such ridiculous statement, however, as that all

<sup>1</sup> These figures were collected in the month of April. Figures for 1920 (not yet published) were collected in January and will consequently show an apparent decrease, due to the fact that most farmwork is not in progress in January.

farmwork done by children is harmful, *or that all these children listed in the census are in need of protection.* But we are stating most emphatically that too many of these thousands of rural child workers are being deprived of the very fundamentals of a normal childhood; that some of them are actually exploited, even as factory and cannery children have been exploited; and that it is high time we all turned our attention to them, especially if we are as interested as we say we are in raising the standards of American rural life.

For if there is one thing more than another that we have learned in the seventeen years since the National Child Labor Committee was created, it is that child labor is not limited to any one industry or process, or by locality, but that any work which is positively harmful to the child or even negatively harmful, in that it hinders or prevents the child's normal development, is child labor and as such is bad for the child and through him, bad for the community and the nation. That the "child is father of the man" is no idle platitude when one views the inefficiency, ill-health, dependency and general inability to cope with life that follow hard on the heels of a neglected childhood.

And this is the view we believe should be most emphasized in approaching the rural child labor problem. For every agricultural study we have made points to the same conclusion: that the farm child is frequently getting too much work, too little schooling and too little developmental care; that he is too often a mere drudge who will grow up an ignorant, inefficient worker, more a liability than an asset to his community.

#### STUDIES IN VARIOUS STATES

In 1910 we first investigated the working conditions of the children in

the cranberry bogs of New Jersey, and those among the itinerant berry and produce pickers of Delaware and Maryland. In 1913 we made our first study of the cotton pickers of Texas and found little children working too long hours, living in unsanitary conditions, being kept out of school for the sake of cotton. In 1915 we looked into the situation in the sugar-beet fields of Colorado, and since then we have made intensive studies of various agricultural industries and districts in Oklahoma, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, California and elsewhere.

In Colorado we found that 5,000 children between six and fifteen years of age were working regularly in the cultivation of sugar-beets, even during school hours. One family, whose seven and eleven year old children both worked in the beet fields, regardless of school, boasted that these children made \$10,000 a year in sugar-beets. Another man said, "My boy is worth \$1,000 for work in the beet season, but he is nothing but an expense when he is in school." The school authorities estimated that each of these 5,000 children missed from two to twenty-two weeks of school a year, an average of nine and one-half weeks each, because of work in the beet fields.

In Oklahoma, where we found children as young as five picking cotton regularly, the average daily attendance at school was only 57.2 per cent of the enrollment, and a study of 174 schools, involving 6,389 pupils, showed that the number of days absent during the year was more than one-third of the total number of days present. The absences of these children for farmwork or housework reached a total of 90,903 days, an amount almost equal to the sum of all other absences, such as those due to illness, indifference, bad weather or distance from school, put together.



In North Dakota the school authorities state that only 30 per cent of the children complete the eighth grade in school, and only 4 per cent, the twelfth grade, while at least 20,000 farm children stay out of school each year for a period of sixty days to help in raising wheat and other small grains.

These are only isolated instances cited to indicate what conditions are throughout the country. Helen V. Bary, of the Federal Children's Bureau, in a recent summary of child labor conditions, outlines the situation as follows:

Undoubtedly the most serious problem of child labor today is that of agricultural work. The evil of the situation is not only positive, but negative—not only the conditions it creates but the conditions it denies. *Rural child labor in vast areas of the United States today carries with it a virtual denial of education.*

#### CHILD LABOR AND ILLITERACY

Another investigator establishes the following parallel between child labor and illiteracy:

It is well known that the percentage of illiteracy in the country is twice that of cities, one in every ten of the rural population being classed as illiterate. It is not so widely advertised, however, that of the sixteen states having a percentage of illiteracy greater than that of the United States as a whole, fifteen have a foreign population percentage far below 14.7 (that of the United States as a whole), the highest per cent in those states being 8.6, and the average 2.9. And even less advertised is the fact that these fifteen states include all but one of the thirteen states (all southern agricultural states) which have a child labor percentage in excess of the average for the United States as a whole. The parallel is striking and the conclusion obvious. If rural sections, in spite of a small foreign population, have a very large percentage of illiteracy, it is apparent that country children are not being educated; and when we

find that in these same regions there is a large amount of child labor which interferes seriously with school attendance, it is reasonable to conclude that the work of the children is responsible, in part at least, for the lack of schooling. It cannot be attributed entirely to the inferiority of rural education, for even the poorest "little red schoolhouse" can train the child to write—the test of literacy.<sup>2</sup>

But it is not merely schooling of which the farm-working child is deprived. Anyone who knows rural conditions can tell you that he has the minimum amount of play and recreational facilities, of sanitary living conditions, of health protection and of all these developmental elements that are the very essence of a real childhood—if he has any of them at all. For the poorer the farmer, the more he needs the labor of his children, and the less he can afford decent surroundings or those things which he, perhaps, considers unnecessary but which go a long way toward making life livable and progressive for his family.

In our recent study of rural life in Tennessee, Charles E. Gibbons summarizes some of the differences between the lives of owner-farmers and tenant farmers in that state, and gives an excellent idea of the deprivations which are an everyday fact to the poor farmer's child.

The most striking point in the evidence presented is the wide difference in conditions surrounding the lives of owners' children and tenants' children. Owners have nearly three times as large an income as tenants, although the families are practically the same size. Owner children are not kept out of school to work on the farm as tenant children are. Tenants move about much more; hence they do not have the comforts and conveniences in their homes that they might have if their tenure were longer. Because of the system, tenants are

<sup>2</sup> *Farm Labor vs. School Attendance*, by Gertrude Folks.

forced to borrow at high interest rates and are thus restricted in the manner in which they may purchase their supplies and dispose of their crops. They get a good deal less from the farm for their tables than owners do. Their water supply is less protected. Fewer of their homes have screens and toilets. Their opportunities for recreation are more limited. They read less because they have less to read. The opportunity that tenants' children have for education, health, recreation and the enjoyment of a normal childhood, is limited. The evidence shows that many of the economic factors which enter into conditions surrounding their lives are below a minimum standard for decent living. This ought not to be for any group of people. According to the 1910 census, tenants comprise a little more than 41 per cent of the rural population of Tennessee. Hence, the problem of giving tenant children their inherent rights is serious, not only because of the extremely bad conditions under which they are living, but also because of the large number involved. These children ought to have a better chance.<sup>3</sup>

What is true of the tenant farmer in Tennessee is true of the poor farmer everywhere. Our report of child welfare in West Virginia, now in press, the result of six months' careful study by trained investigators, is an appalling record of deprivations and positive dangers surrounding the farm children in that state—a record which goes a long way to prove one point we have been hammering at for many years, namely that child labor is never an isolated evil, but is by its very nature inextricably bound up not only with other problems of child welfare but with problems of adult welfare. The same conditions that produce child labor are those that produce poor, unsanitary homes, inadequate, untended schools, poor recreational facilities, few books, few papers—in short, the meagre, bleak life that deadens

and discourages. Child labor is a part of that meagre life; it is, alas, in the last analysis, only a partial cause of it, for here we run up against that old, old circle of ignorance, inefficiency, poverty, child labor, lack of education, and so on.

#### THE SCHOOL AND THE RURAL CHILD PROBLEM

By the same token, therefore, child labor is not a negative problem. If you are going to the root of the matter, it is not enough to say of a child, "He must not work." You must go further than that if you are going to create anything more than a deadlock. You must take a positive stand, and when you remove a child from the drudgery of labor, you must give him, in place of it, its substitutes: suitable schooling, suitable play and suitable work. When you do that, you are not merely cognizant of the present, but you are building on a sure foundation for the future.

This, then, is our problem in relation to the neglected rural child; this is our way of going to the root of the evil, an evil so closely interwoven with the whole problem of bettering rural life today that we of the National Child Labor Committee believe that, in reclaiming a fair chance for country children, we are actually working shoulder to shoulder with every agency and every individual who has at heart the welfare of the American farmer. What can do more for rural development than the creation of a better, more efficient rural population? And what can do more to produce that better population than the protection, education and development of country children?

The farmer's greatest loss today is the loss of his children. They will not stay on the farms if farms to them mean drudgery. They would rather go to town and work eight hours a day in

<sup>3</sup> *Child Welfare in Tennessee*, N.C.L.C. 1920, p. 373.

a factory, with a motion-picture house handy for their evening hours, than stay on the farm and work from sun-up to sun-down, with nothing ahead of them for the evening but supper and an early bedtime. If they do stay on the farm inheriting the precarious, hand-to-mouth existence of their fathers, and learning no better ways of farming, their children begin staying out of school to pick cotton or cultivate beets or tobacco, and the thing goes on and on.

But consider what so simple an expedient as a good rural school with *all the children in it for all the term* could do for a community of people of this class, a really progressive rural school that would teach something applicable to the lives of the children, a school with recreational facilities in use, a school where health and sanitation and nutrition are not merely words in the speller. The children coming out of that school would begin to take a progressive interest in farming. The country would not be such a bad place to them; in fact, they would be glad to stay there, for every country child no matter how much he feels the lure of the city feels also the lure of the woods and the fields and the wide, open spaces, if they are not connected too closely in his mind with hard, unrewarded labor. The children coming out of that school would see to it that their houses were decent to live in. They would demand books and papers and would see that their children went to school. They would be the kind of farmers that are interested in improved methods, in better ways of marketing—in short, the kind of farmers we want. Can you imagine a surer way of raising the standards of a rural population than through a really effective, rural school?

#### THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION

But, we are told, all this sounds very well but it is not practical. This is an

economic problem, and the farmer works his children and keeps them out of school because he has to do so in order to scrape a bare living. Until you pay him a decent price for his products, he must continue to employ his children, utterly regardless of all this high-sounding talk of education. Very well. We are ready to admit that there is an economic interpretation of the problem, and we are as anxious as anyone to find the solution of the economic puzzle.

It is true that this argument that child labor is "necessary" has been offered in relation to every industry we have ever touched, and we have yet to see it proved. It is true, also, that we have never been willing to believe that any industry or any condition that exists at the expense of childhood has a right to exist in a supposedly civilized age. But, setting these things aside for the moment, we are so interested in the economic aspects of the question and so sure that our plan has a real economic significance, that we are quite ready to talk to the farmer in wholly practical terms about it; to interpret it for him, if he wants, in dollars and cents.

It is perfectly true that to the hard-pressed farmer his children have an actual cash value. The Colorado man who said that his boy was worth \$1,000 in the beet season but was nothing but an expense in school, is not alone in this utilitarian view. The southern tenant farmer frankly admits that he tills a certain number of acres in direct proportion to the number of children he has to help him cultivate and harvest them. To the poor farmer anywhere, his children must mean either so many mouths to feed or so many hands on the farm, and you can scarcely blame him for it. But suppose you can show him that school has a greater practical value than work; suppose you can show him

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that a child in school now means just so much more return to him later. Will he not then, at least, take an interest in the school proposition? It is merely hard common-sense in any industry, farming as well as any other, to say that a healthier, better educated, more efficient workman is sure to mean a higher value of production either in quantity or quality. The farmer knows enough to look to the future when he spends money on fertilizer that he may get a larger crop, or when he spends money on the right feed that he may raise better hogs and cattle. Why should he not be made to see, then, that it will be dollars in his pocket in the long run to spend a little on the education and care of his children? Is not that practical?

Other people are offering the farmers a \$100,000,000 fund for better marketing of their products and we are glad of it. Everything that helps the farmers' bank account helps our cause. But we believe we are working to an equally practical end, and that our proposition, if we may so call it, is also essentially a \$100,000,000 fund, or more, for the farmers' welfare. Think of it in these terms. There are at least a million American farm children today who are out of school doing work in the fields. At the very lowest estimate each of these children will be worth \$100 more to his parents if allowed to get his full share of school and good health than he can be at present. Is not that \$100,000,000 straight into the pockets of the American farmer?

It is something we cannot legislate, although such things as enforcing school laws, increasing rural school appropriations, paying rural school teachers decent wages, and so on, are all matters direct enough to be put immediately into the hands of the lawmakers. But the greatest gain will be

in educating the farmer himself, in teaching him the value of these things which he now classifies as secondary, making him see that the full development of human resources—children—is essential to the success of any human enterprise. If you cannot speak to him on the higher, spiritual side, speak to him, we say, on the practical side.

All this cannot be done, however, without first knowing the farmer, the intricacies of his problem, knowing conditions as he sees them, knowing the wherefore of everything he does, and no one realizes this fact better than the National Child Labor Committee. Every attack we have made upon child neglect or exploitation has meant first getting the facts, and that is our present business in relation to the rural child problem.<sup>4</sup>

Our new Chairman, David Franklin Houston, who was Secretary of Agriculture in the last administration, has long been a devoted student of rural life. We have on our Board of Trustees such an authority on rural conditions as Professor E. C. Lindeman of the American Country Life Association. We have special agents who are experts on rural problems as well as on all phases of child welfare, and we are ready to go into the facts thoroughly and scientifically.

We are equipped and ready to do a big job. Are not these million or more almost forgotten country children sufficient justification? What an opportunity we have, all together, to make the statement that children are the nation's greatest asset, something more than a high-sounding platitude! And if we really believe this statement, if we are actually a nation that believes in children, here is our chance. Will the American people take it?

<sup>4</sup>See study of Child Welfare in West Virginia, made during the winter and spring of 1920-21 and now in press.



# The Development of the Children's Code

By EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.

Field Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee

**S**OLOMON says that a good man "leaveth an inheritance to his children's children." He does not tell us what kind of inheritance he had in mind as suitable for children, but he says that houses and riches are the inheritance of fathers, and, as a father, he says to children: "Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom; and with all thy getting get understanding." If this means that the proper inheritance of children is wisdom and understanding, then indeed is Solomon wise, for "she is more precious than rubies . . . length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor." Wisdom and understanding come of knowledge and experience, those riches of the mind and heart, and are added unto us through length of days. Here we have the philosophy of child welfare work: a lengthened childhood is the best inheritance we can leave to our children and to our children's children, for it is the way to wisdom and understanding, to riches and honor.

## BASIC PURPOSE OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICE

The basic purpose of child welfare service, whatever its kind and whatever its goal, is to prolong the period of childhood. Lengthened childhood is the warp of that fabric we are weaving to shield and equip our boys and girls. On this basis we set up a structure for their good; through this warp we run the woof, the threads that make it strong.

The first threads are all those efforts that make secure the lengthened days of childhood: all the work that is done

to save children from disease and deformity and to promote their health and vitality; the laws, ordinances and agencies that stand between them and exploitation; the measures that safeguard them from abuse; the officers, courts and institutions that lead them away from careers of crime. The second are those threads that seek to equalize the conditions of life for childhood: the steps that are taken to relieve the suffering of the poor and to put down the evil of poverty; that great overflowing of hearts that goes to the care of the unfortunate and the handicapped. And finally come the threads that lead to the heights beyond: the schooling, the training, the guidance and the play that bring education and the joy of life.

Thus it is our task to lengthen childhood, to make it safe, to give a fair chance to those stricken in body, mind or estate, to provide training and recreation for all. Without these things neither the children of today nor those of tomorrow can lay up for themselves the treasures of wisdom and understanding; they cannot inherit the riches whose price is above rubies.

With less than this inheritance for every child we must not be content. No flower is born to waste its sweetness on the desert air. That any waste their sweetness is our fault and we should not cease from striving till every bud unfolds its petals in a world of opportunity. No child is born to a barren life but every one has in him some power, however slight, to swell the sum total of our happiness. Ours is the duty to prepare the way so that he can

use this power; his, is the duty to use it.

The instrument, imperfect and incomplete as it is, that we have devised for insuring to every child as fair a start in life as it is possible to give him, is commonly known as the "children's code." This has developed out of the experience of those who, in various ways, have served the public interest through serving children. Its growth has been gradual, of course, but it is only within recent years that all the accumulated experience has been brought to bear in any logical manner upon the preparation of a broad and coördinated program. Efforts toward this end have converged in an expression of the principles underlying child care, the formulation of standards to govern such care in accordance with modern thought, and the embodiment of these standards into law and practice with such modifications in the different states as special circumstances might require or public opinion dictate. The declaring of principles and the framing of standards clears the air and points the way; it sets up a mark toward which to work and shows why we should strive to reach it. The writing of the standards into the statutes secures to us the enjoyment of our gains as they are won and records our progress toward sound theory and practice.

#### GROUNDWORK OF THE CHILDREN'S CODE

A striking instance of the attempt to set forth the principles underlying social work and to rear up standards on those principles, occurred in 1909 when, upon the invitation of President Roosevelt, a meeting of representative social workers, since known as the White House Conference, was held in Washington to consider the care of dependent children. The authoritative declaration made on this occasion has ever since been the guide of social workers in

the treatment and care of dependent and neglected children.

Another instance has been the agitation for general recognition of certain standards concerning the employment of children in gainful occupations. This agitation, long carried on by national societies, was given a more definite objective in 1911 when the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws approved a standard child labor bill which had been drawn at the request of this body by the National Child Labor Committee. The measure was recommended by the commissioners to the several states for enactment into law with a view to legislative uniformity in this field, and has been adopted, in part at least, by most of our commonwealths, while its fundamental provisions have been written into the law of the nation.

Further, the principles upon which the organization and procedure of juvenile courts are based have been stated, the purposes and functions of probation have been made clear, and standard bills have been drawn by leaders for the use of states and smaller communities in dealing with juvenile delinquents..

Then, at the National Conference of Charities and Correction held in Baltimore in 1915, so much interest was shown in the correlation of child welfare laws and of the work of administrative agencies that an organization was effected to stimulate the children's code movement throughout the country. This organization took the name of the National Committee for Standardizing Child Welfare Laws. At the National Conference of Social Work held in Milwaukee in 1921, steps were taken to make this committee still more representative and useful; it was planned to have this national agency serve not only as a source of encouragement to the children's code movement but also as a

clearing house for information about this movement, and about the activities of all private societies, public departments and bureaus that take any part in it—in a word, to correlate the efforts of those who are seeking correlation.

Finally, in the second year of our participation in the World War, a campaign was carried on under the leadership of the Children's Bureau of the Federal Government for the purpose of wakening in the people of this country a fuller sense of their responsibility to all children and a broader appreciation of child welfare work. This was known as "Children's Year," and, as a fitting climax, there was drawn up at a conference in Washington in 1919, a set of recommendations applying to several fields of child care in accordance with the announced purpose of agreeing upon "certain irreducible minimum standards for the health, education, and work of the American child." It is interesting to note that this was done just a decade after the White House Conference and in the same city; its agenda, however, covered a wider area; moreover, the Washington conference of 1909 was national while that of 1919 was international, guests being present from several foreign countries upon the invitation of our government.

In this international conference, we have a vivid illustration of the spread of the child welfare appeal and a formal acknowledgment of its universality. The organization of the *Congreso Americano del Niño* by Latin-American social workers in Buenos Aires in 1916 as a common meeting-ground for child welfare workers from the three Americas and from the islands of the sea, is further proof of the broad community of interest in all that relates to the well-being of children.

A few years ago, this first part of the children's code movement, the declaring of principles and the framing of

standards, was centered in the agitation for what was called at the time, a "Children's Charter." This was, in a way, an effort to coördinate and foster the different manifestations of goodwill toward children that had grown out of the general interest in their welfare, although it had also as one of its purposes, as its name implies, a statement of the rights of children, a formulating of the principles that lay at the bottom of all these manifestations. So although this proposed charter had in it something of the nature of each of the two parts of the children's code movement, namely, standards and statutes, it was primarily a seeking after bases of action, a quest for fundamentals. It was hoped to get clearly in mind just what were the rights of childhood and then to advance from the expression of these rights to a series of legislative proposals designed to secure them and to promote coöperation in their enforcement. The matter was discussed at meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction and of the National Child Labor Committee but the charter, as originally planned, was never drawn up. However, the report of the Children's Bureau Conference held in Washington in 1919, entitled "Standards of Child Welfare," is in reality a charter of childhood; it is an outgrowth of the earlier effort and is well adapted, so far as it goes, to serve the ends of the former plan.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE WORK

The writing of standards into the law is the more palpable part of the children's code movement and, as a matter of fact, is usually regarded as its only part, for it is the obvious function of a children's code to lay down the law on child welfare. But this is really the crystallization of a process that has extended over a long period of time and

involves all the experience of the race. As attention has been drawn more and more publicly in recent years to the needs of children, a demand for more simplified laws and more effective procedure has arisen and out of this demand has grown the so-called children's code.

It may be said that it had its origin, if anything so evolutionary can be conceded a definite origin, in England. Three acts of Parliament known as the Consolidated Factory Acts, the Consolidated Educational Acts and the Children's Act of 1908, together with the amendments that have been adopted from time to time, especially the Fisher Act adopted toward the end of the World War, form what is practically a childhood's charter in the United Kingdom. The subject matter of the first and second of this group of acts is indicated by their titles. The third is wider in scope and is divided into six parts devoted to: (1) infant life protection; (2) prevention of cruelty to children and young persons; (3) the use of tobacco; (4) reformatory and industrial schools; (5) juvenile offenders; (6) miscellaneous matters such as definitions, safety at entertainments, penalties for giving intoxicating liquor to children, etc. The Children's Act of 1908 at the time of its passage was popularly called the Children's Charter, although not so comprehensive as the term would lead one to suppose. It immediately attracted the attention of social workers in the United States, who pointed out the more or less chaotic condition of our own child welfare laws and suggested that action be taken by the several states, looking toward the simplifying, standardizing, and coordinating of their provisions somewhat after the manner of the British plan.

Ohio was the first to respond. In 1911 her legislature directed the gov-

ernor to appoint "a commission to revise, consolidate and suggest amendments to the statute laws of the state of Ohio which pertain to children," and defined the powers and duties of this commission in part as follows:

In performing this duty such commissioners shall unify the present laws pertaining to illegitimate, defective, neglected, dependent and delinquent children, and to their treatment, care, maintenance, custody, control, protection and reformation; and shall suggest such amendments and additions as to them may seem best calculated to bring the law of this State into harmony with the best thought on this subject.

The commission labored at its task for nearly two years and submitted to the governor, and through him to the legislature, in 1913, a thorough-going report with recommendations for laws on state control of charities, juvenile courts, institutions, placing-out, compulsory education, child labor, apprenticeship, offenses against children, and mothers' pensions. These recommendations were introduced into the legislature in the form of a single bill and, with some changes, were adopted that year.

New Hampshire's legislature next took action by authorizing the governor and council in 1913 to appoint "three suitable persons who shall investigate all matters relating to the welfare of the dependent, defective and delinquent children of the State, especially the questions of orphanage, juvenile courts, detention homes, desertion, physical and mental degeneracy, infant mortality, accidents and diseases, and make report, with recommendations concerning the above matters, to the legislature of 1915." The commission was appointed and a careful report duly prepared and submitted but its recommendations failed of adoption.

Upon the suggestion of social workers and without authorization by the



legislature, the governor of Missouri created a commission and charged it with preparing for consideration such changes in the laws concerning children as seemed advisable. Accordingly, forty-two bills were drawn, covering fairly all phases of child welfare, but only ten were enacted; here, too, the measures were introduced as separate bills instead of in a body as was done in Ohio. The expenses incurred by the commission in the discharge of its duties were met by contributions from private sources, for of course no public funds had been made available through appropriation by the legislature as had been the case in Ohio and New Hampshire. The proposals having been in large part rejected by the legislature in 1917, the governor ordered the commission to continue its work and a new and more detailed report was prepared by its thirty members and submitted in 1919, together with bills to revise inconsistent or conflicting statutes, to repeal obsolete or undesirable provisions, and to provide in some instances entirely new legislation. At this session the report fared better and most of the recommendations were adopted.

In 1916, also upon the request of welfare workers and without warrant of the legislature, attempts to obtain its authorization having failed, the governor of Minnesota, inspired by the example of Missouri's chief executive, appointed twelve persons "to revise and codify the laws of the State relating to children." The commission had only five months in which to work before the convening of the legislature and therefore did not try to cover the entire body of laws pertaining to children but gave its attention chiefly to the interests of the handicapped. In this case, also, expenses were provided for through the generosity of public-spirited citizens and societies. The report when submitted was referred to a

joint committee of the two houses of the legislature and the secretary of the commission was appointed to serve as its clerk. Thirty-six of the forty-three bills that had been prepared were favorably reported to the legislature by its joint committee and were passed with but slight alterations and with scarcely a dissenting voice.

#### PRINCIPLES OF THE CHILDREN'S CODE

These states were the pioneers in the children's code movement in this country, and many others are following their lead and reorganizing their child welfare work. But the term "child welfare" has become more or less technical and among social workers nowadays it is applied to the care of the child handicapped by poverty, neglect, delinquency, or defect. In defining the powers and duties of children's code commissions, governors and legislatures have apparently had this common limitation in mind and the commissions have generally restricted their work accordingly. However, a children's code should be as comprehensive as its name; it should not be devoted to the interests of any one class alone; the normal child, the ordinary, everyday, wholesome boy or girl, should be its beneficiary as well as the abnormal or subnormal child who is in need of special care. The real children's code is democratic and recognizes no class distinctions. It should include measures for the preservation of life and health, for education, for recreation and for the rights of parent and child, as well as for protection from want, abuse and crime. Health, education, recreation, and employment concern all children and, moreover, most boys and girls are not dependent, destitute, neglected, abused, delinquent or defective, but are normal in respect to their home life, their behavior, their condition of body and mind, and their

relations to society. The four essentials to wholesome development, health, play, schooling and suitable work, since they are necessary to all classes of children, the fortunate as well as the unfortunate, should have their place in every children's code.

The title of this article implies that children's codes grow and the implication is true; indeed, it is this characteristic of growth that holds out the promise of social well-being. The task of adjusting laws to conditions is continuous because conditions are always changing. A children's code must be from time to time renewed for each rewriting of it is but a step in the evolution of child care, a clearing of the way for further progress. It should be thought of as a living thing, capable of endless development. A fixed and final code would be a disaster but, happily, it is an impossibility for in the natural course of events it must yield to change. Conditions and ideals are the stuff of which it is made up and conditions and ideals are not stable things. Thus, while a children's code seeks to equalize opportunities for children by making toward uniformity of conditions, it must itself submit to being moulded and remoulded as time goes on, and must always encourage experimental work by whatever agency may be willing to undertake it, for it is only by means of fresh enterprises and trial of new methods that our systems of

law and administrative effort can be kept adequate under the ever changing circumstances of our life.

A children's code is more than a code. A code is an orderly compilation of laws, a mere labor-saving device, while a children's code is constructive social service. A code is a collection of the laws as they are; a children's code is a changing of the laws to what they ought to be. A children's code does not even bring together into one body the various laws of a state relating to children but leaves them scattered among the general acts as determined by their content; it does not aim at mechanical perfection but at the nurture of boys and girls. The word "code" in this connection is really a misnomer and "charter," signifying as it does the bestowal of rights and privileges, would, perhaps, be better; but "code" is shorter and hence preferred.

So it is that this movement, by whatever name it may be called, tries to make childhood safe, to give opportunity to those who otherwise would not enjoy it and to provide training and play for all. If it lengthens childhood for all children it will have accomplished its purpose; for childhood, as we like to think of it, means happiness and if this be prolonged by any act of ours we shall leave to our children and to our children's children, an inheritance that naught else earthly can surpass.

## A State Program for Child Welfare

By WILLIAM HODSON, LL.B.

Director, Children's Bureau, State Board of Control, Minnesota

IN 1915 Mr. C. C. Carstens, Chairman of the Children's Committee of the National Conference of Social Work (or Charities and Correction as it was then called), presented a report

to the Conference on "A Community Plan in Children's Work." This report attempted to set forth in a concrete manner, not only the community responsibility for certain

classes of its handicapped children but a plan by which that responsibility might be effectively discharged—a plan sufficiently elastic to allow for modifications according to individual needs but definite enough in fundamental principles to serve as a guide for general use. Many groups in different states, interested in child welfare, have used the Committee's findings as a basis for study and in one state, Minnesota, they have been adopted, in part, in the children's program which was launched there in 1917, following the enactment of a considerable body of legislation to effect that purpose.

In the field of private philanthropy, legislation is not a prerequisite to effective social work. Law, in the main, is only incidental and, in truth, it is frequently the absence of good law which creates or perpetuates the need for private effort. To illustrate this point, one need only call to mind the burden imposed upon charity organization societies in the support of widowed mothers of dependent children before the passage of the so-called (and badly called) "mothers' pension" laws, or a similar burden in behalf of the dependent families of disabled workmen before compensation acts put the responsibility upon the shoulders of those ethically obligated to bear it. When we consider a state program, legislation is usually the starting point and for obvious reasons. The duty of the state to protect the interests of its children who are in need of guardianship care is, to be sure, well recognized in law, as well as in ethics, but in the absence of specific legislation it remains an undefined duty which is not susceptible of practical application until it is set out by metes and bounds. It is one thing to say that the state should extend its protecting arm to the dependent child and quite another to insist that no such child shall be placed

permanently in a family home until the state is assured that the home is such as will afford proper care. The general principle needs detailed amplification before it becomes a practical reality and it needs detailed limitation if it is to run the gauntlet of constitutional inquiry before courts of law. Moreover, the discharge of a public obligation requires administrative machinery which must either be created anew or moulded out of existing agencies; in either case, legislation is usually a necessity.

#### CREATION OF MINNESOTA STATE BOARD

It was such considerations which moved a group of interested people in Minnesota to ask the Governor for the appointment of a Child Welfare Commission to study conditions and make recommendations to the legislature which convened in 1917. It is hardly in point here to discuss the methods employed by the Commission in reaching its results further than to say that careful attention was given to the legal, as well as the social aspects of the problem; nor were proper publicity and the practice of practical politics in securing passage of the proposals overlooked. The Commission submitted forty-three measures, which had the approval of the governor, and the legislature enacted thirty-six into law. Two of the original suggestions which failed of passage have since become law and the others were not vitally essential to the general scheme presented.

Mr. Carstens' report deals with neglected, dependent and delinquent children and those who are physically and mentally defective. It suggests the state as a proper administrative unit in dealing with the problem and the county as a useful local adminis-

trative agency. Minnesota has centered its administration in the State Board of Control, a board of five members, two of whom are women, and all of whom are appointed by the governor for terms of six years. This board was given supervision and control over seventeen state institutions, including those relating to dependent, delinquent and defective minors and was the natural body to assume the additional powers necessary to an enlarged program for the care of children outside of institutions. It was authorized to create a department, under its control, to accomplish this purpose and in pursuance of that authority established what is known as the Children's Bureau. Here centralized responsibility is supplemented by de-centralized administration through county child welfare boards whose personnel consists of three (five in the case of the larger counties) persons appointed by the State Board, two of whom are women and two ex-officio members—the county superintendent of schools and a member of the board of county commissioners, selected by that board. In this way the close inter-relationship of the school system to the general problem is recognized and the coöperation of the commissioners, who are called upon to appropriate the funds for the county welfare boards, is secured. It is worth noting here that the local body is not appointed until a petition has come from the commissioners requesting such appointment, on the principle that these boards cannot function effectively until public opinion in the community is convinced of their need and ready to ask for their establishment. Communities, however, have been active in demanding them. Since January 1, 1918, when the law became operative, sixty-eight boards have been appointed in the eighty-six counties of the state.

#### NEED FOR CENTRALIZED ADMINISTRATION

The need for centralizing child welfare administration in a central body with county agencies operating in the various parts of the state, is summed up in the report of the Child Welfare Commission, which drew the law in the following manner:

At present the function of ultimate guardianship is exercised by the state, with respect to handicapped children, only through the courts and the public institutions to which the court makes commitments. Except as to the limited work done by the bureau of women and children of the State Department of Labor, it is literally true that no state agency in Minnesota is charged with the duty of seeing that children who need the help of the state by reason of their peculiar social handicaps have that help afforded them, either through court action or otherwise. The initiative is left with private persons and organizations. Present laws lay upon the Board of Control general duties in the matter of inspecting certain child helping organizations and institutions conducted by them; but these laws are far too vague to be thoroughly effective, and as to children not in institutions, public or private, the board has no duties whatsoever.

It has seemed to the Commission, therefore, that the prime requisite of its scheme is to centralize the state's authority and duty, so far as practicable, in an official group—the State Board of Control. This machinery operates in every part of the state through the county child welfare boards.

The coördination of local agencies with a central one is expected to be an educative force of great value in developing right ideals and methods of work for children throughout the state, besides affording opportunity and responsibility for initiative now nowhere found.

As to whether the purposes of the Commission have been fully carried out, it is yet too early to pass a sound



judgment. This much is certain, however, that the constant and direct contact between the state office and the local groups has made possible, mutuality of understanding, unanimity of purpose and standardization of method to a degree which hardly seems possible under any plan which does not provide for similar inter-relationship of structure. The process is aided in no small measure by the annual conferences held by the state and local groups in connection with the State Conference of Social Work. These conferences are held by authority of law and the county is authorized to pay the expenses of certain local officials, including the county juvenile court judge and a member of the child welfare board. The county is likewise authorized to pay the necessary traveling expenses incurred by members of child welfare boards in attendance at meetings and when investigating cases. The salary and expenses of executive agents of the boards may also be paid by the county and all items of expenditure are subject to the approval of the board of county commissioners.

Mr. Carstens' report for the Committee on Children asserts that public departments should devote themselves to such work "as is based on principles that are well established, require the more permanent care, are more general in their application or contain an element of compulsion or control; while private organizations should develop in directions that are more experimental, require more temporary care, are more unusual in their application or are carried on with the coöperation of the families benefited." The report further expresses the judgment that children's work not carried on directly by the state should nevertheless be subject to state regulation and supervision. In other words, it is the obligation of the state to undertake,

itself, protective work in those fields where a public board can operate with the greatest propriety and effectiveness, and to assure itself that a minimum standard of efficiency is maintained by private organizations in the lines of work which they can more properly perform. It is impossible, and perhaps illogical, to consider the powers and duties of the local child welfare boards without first discussing the powers and duties of the State Board of Control and its instrument, the Children's Bureau, with reference to the principles just stated, because the local groups with few exceptions derive all their authority from the State Board. In the language of the law: "The Child Welfare Board shall perform such duties as may be required of it by the Board of Control in furtherance of the purposes of this act."

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE STATE BOARD

The powers and duties of the State Board are of a three-fold character: First, there are imposed duties of a general protective nature, such as the enforcement of laws which are designed to protect children from their own anti-social conduct or the harmful acts of adults, and the taking of the initiative to conserve the interests of children in all matters where adequate provision has not already been made.

Second, authority is conferred upon the Board to accept the guardianship of handicapped children of all types who are committed by juvenile courts and to make such disposition of the children of either a permanent or temporary character, as the facts of the cases may warrant. This authority has been modified somewhat by a recent decision of the Supreme Court which holds that after a commitment to guardianship and before legal adoption by third persons, the juvenile

court has jurisdiction, upon a proper showing, to remand children so committed to the custody of their parents from whom they were originally taken. It is easy to imagine cases where the exercise of this power may work severe hardship upon innocent persons, as where a child has been placed out by the Board after commitment and has remained in the foster home for several years without having been legally adopted. In fact, the instance which was the occasion for the decision was a case where a profligate and immoral mother regained the right to the custody of the child who pled piteously not to be returned to her parent and who was desirous of remaining with her adopted parents in the excellent home which they provided. Fortunately a way has been found to thwart, temporarily at least, this unfortunate result.

Third, there are imposed upon the Board of Control, specific duties with respect to particular classes of children and institutions for their care. The law expressly enjoins the Board to coöperate with juvenile courts and all reputable child-caring agencies, and also requires it to license and supervise private societies, agencies, and institutions which receive children for board and care or which place them in family homes. Maternity hospitals, *i.e.*, all hospitals, of whatever character, which receive more than one woman within a period of six months for confinement care, are subject to the same licensing and supervisory power. Here is recognition of the right of the state to assurance that the care which children are receiving at the hands of private institutions and organizations is of such a nature as to provide a fair opportunity for growth and development. In the exercise of this right it has been necessary to prevent many who sought to undertake such work

(usually those who were looking for a business opening) from so doing.

In the great majority of cases the problem has been one of mutual counsel between the state and the private groups in the attainment of higher standards and a minimum of uniformity in principles and technique. Those agencies which place children in free homes for permanent care or adoption are required to report their placements to the Board, which investigates and may order the return of the child, if in its opinion the home is not suitable. The procedure here involves a duplication of investigations which is cumbersome and should be avoided, if possible, by an agreement to accept as final the reports of such agencies as attain a reasonable standard of proficiency in child placement. Singularly enough, this type of work in the western states has been and still is, to a large extent, in the hands of persons who are not markedly qualified for it; yet good placement is fundamental in child welfare work. Nowhere is there greater need for general agreement between the public and private agency as to principle and method than in this field where individual judgment so easily leads to differing opinions and diametrically opposed conclusions.

#### RELATED PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE BOARD

Correlated to the subject of placing children is their legal adoption. It has been the prevailing custom to regard adoption as strictly a legal process based upon the sufficiency of the papers and affidavits presented to the court having jurisdiction. However, the Board of Control now receives copies of the petitions filed in such cases and is required to investigate and report to the court as to the suitability of the child and the foster home, each to the other. The social factors have been given a place

of prime importance in a proceeding which is essentially social in all of its implications. As further evidence of this, adoptions cannot be legally perfected until the child has remained for six months in the foster home.

The adoption and placement of children naturally relates itself to the age-long and baffling problem of illegitimacy, for the child born out of wedlock frequently is in need of a foster home. The Board of Control functions here by assisting in the establishment of the paternity of the child and by conserving the interests of the mother and child in whatever ways may be found necessary. The responsibility of illegitimate paternity is made the same as that of legitimate so far as care, maintenance and education are concerned, and the Board is authorized to make settlements with the approval of the court, to hold money in trust for the benefit of the child and to pay out from time to time such sums as may be needed for the child's care. The two-fold advantage of such a plan lies in the fact that where settlements are made in lump sum, the principal can be conserved during the full period of the child's minority and, in any event, money need only be paid out after a showing on the part of the mother or other custodian that good care and wholesome environment are being provided, *i.e.*, that the money is being well spent. Moreover, the activity of a public body in securing adequate settlements, either in lump sum or monthly payments, for children born out of wedlock, tends to raise the amounts and, consequently, the standard of maintenance.

Minnesota has made provision for county allowances (mothers' pensions) for several years and the relief has been administered by the various county probate judges with such assistance in the way of social investigation as the

individual judge might desire. In practice, very little investigating of such matters has been done save in the counties containing large cities and the law has been administered in a loose, unstandardized fashion. The statute of 1917 makes it the duty of the State Board of Control to promote uniformity and efficiency in the giving of this relief by coöperating with and lending assistance to probate courts, and provides for a state refund of one-third of the amount expended by the counties, which is to be paid upon the approval of the Board. No appropriation has ever been made for this purpose but, in spite of that fact, there has been a developing inter-relationship between the courts and the state and local boards which has served to bring about some improvements and the situation gives promise of better things for the future.

In the general state program the needs of the mentally defective have not been ignored. A feeble-minded person is subject to compulsory commitment to state guardianship when his own interests or those of the public require it, and the Board of Control becomes responsible for the supervision or custodial care of the patient. It may make such provision as may be needed within the limits of its facilities which, in common with those of all other states, are somewhat meager, though some relief will be afforded when the new colonies on state land are put into operation as a supplement to the present institution for defectives.

#### FUNCTIONS OF COUNTY BOARDS

Such then, in general outline, are the duties of the state agency from which the county child welfare boards derive their authority in the process of decentralized administration. The local group investigates and reports upon all adoptions and placements within its

jurisdiction. It undertakes to do the case work involved in the treatment of the unmarried mother and her child, under general supervision from the state office. It assists the mother in bringing affiliation proceedings and represents the Board of Control in those proceedings and in the settlement negotiations. It provides supervision counsel and guidance for mother and child and plans for the future of both, whether they remain together or are separated. Where a feeble-minded person is committed to state guardianship the local board usually determines when the proceeding shall be brought and, if non-institutional care is to be provided in the community, the local group are responsible for the patient's supervision. The county board coöperates closely with the court, which administers county allowances, in investigating applications and in supervising families to which such aid is being given. The members of the board or its agents may and do serve as probation officers in the juvenile court and as school attendance officers.

But the county boards are more than mere instruments of the state department; they are the official representatives of their constituents in the community in fulfilling the county's responsibility toward childhood, and a central clearing house to which may be brought all matters involving the well-being of children. The local group is close to its own problems and readily accessible in their solution. It has knowledge of the special needs and peculiarities of its own community and can adapt its action accordingly while the immediate contact with local public officials makes coöperation more prompt and effective. However, it must be admitted that sometimes the very immediacy of the contact proves a barrier to good results. Most important of all, the child welfare board is,

in a sense, the keeper of the community conscience in doing justice to childhood. A general program based upon defined principles needs to be understood by the community before it becomes an actuality. The local board is an educative force and a center for the dissemination of right standards and ways of thinking in its own vicinity, thus rendering an indispensable service in a state-wide scheme of child protection.

#### ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES

Enough has been said to show the extent of the job which confronts a child welfare board and the technical character of much of its work in dealing with case problems. In the last analysis, good case work is fundamental and the members of these boards may well be regarded as case workers in training with the state office, strained usually beyond its powers in providing wise direction and supervision. The actual contact with real human problems is of incalculable value to a board member in a realization of the importance of his duty and the manner in which that duty can be most effectively discharged. Nevertheless in the last analysis there should be trained service at the disposal of such boards. A fully equipped executive secretary can give direction, power and professional method to the board's work, while making the board itself determine policy, think socially and shape community environment and ideals. Some twenty of the boards now have secured executive secretaries of more or less training, with, on the whole, the expected good results.

The program as outlined conforms, in the main, to the opinions expressed in the report of Mr. Carstens' committee. Most of the work undertaken is based upon principles that are well established or of general application.



This is particularly true of adoption and placement investigations; it is less true where the feeble-minded and the illegitimate are concerned, yet even there the element of compulsion is frequently present. In the development of case work with the unmarried mother and her child, the private agency has an opportunity which is unlimited for achieving sound and successful results. Generally speaking, but little has been done in this field where sentimentality, prejudice and untrained service have played so important a part.

Whatever may be the general soundness of any state program, it must stimulate and encourage private initiative as a necessary and fundamental supplement to its own endeavor. Private enterprise should be pioneering effort, exploring new fields, recognizing new needs and developing higher standards. Too frequently, however, such societies and organizations have been content with their present job,—the thing they have always done—and have been unwilling to venture from the safe and established moorings. This not only reacts upon the value of their own work but it deprives the state group of that stimulus and example which is a partial remedy for bureaucracy and unimaginative routine. More important still, it leaves a valuable field of service untouched where proper cultivation would satisfy real social and human needs.

#### INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A state program is not complete which does not provide institutional care for those children in need of it. In Minnesota, as in most states, the building of institutions has preceded by many years the development of non-institutional preventive work. For the crippled and deformed child who can be benefited by operation or treatment,

there is the hospital, equipped to provide that service for children whose parents are unable to pay for private care. The blind are given special training in a school which seeks to fit them for useful citizenship, and another school provides similar training for the deaf and the defective of speech. Custody and training for the feeble-minded is the work of another institution, while simple colony care for the able bodied males is in contemplation. The delinquent girl is trained in the useful arts and is taught respect for authority and an appreciation of the fundamentals of group life in what is well called the Home Schools for Girls—an institution unique in its effort to avoid the harmful effects of institutional isolation by relating its work to the community in which it is located and by affording life in the community to the fullest possible extent. The Training School for Boys provides for the needs of the delinquent boy upon the well recognized principle that delinquency is to be treated by diagnosis and remedy, not by conviction and punishment. The dependent child is cared for and ultimately placed-out for permanent care, if there is no hope of rehabilitating his home, by the State School which receives him upon commitment from the juvenile courts of the state.

If one were to venture a prophecy, it is that the future development of institutions is to be in the direction of greater simplicity in organization and buildings—a readjustment of administration and physical plant in ways which will permit of individual and not mass care and provide a life, while in the institution, which approximates more closely the surroundings and environment which the child meets in actual life. He is normally accustomed to a plain dwelling home, two parents and brothers and sisters; his

difficulty is usually absence of parental care or defective parental guardianship. He does not need a marble tiled building covering a city block with from fifty to a hundred (many times, more) children to share his daily life. May it not be also that there will be in the future less of specialization in children's institutions and more provision for the care and study of the problem child who seldom can be pocketed merely as a delinquent, a dependent or a defective.

The State Board of Control is not the only state agency which protects the well-being of children, for the State Industrial Commission is charged with the enforcement of comprehensive child labor, street trades and school attendance laws, which are designed to insure a heritage of education and to prevent industry from "reaping the human crops in the spring time." The State Board of Education, in addition to its duties in the administration of state aid to local school districts, undertakes to assist and provide aid to such local school districts as provide special classes for retarded children and those suffering from other handicaps which leave them unfit for the regular school curriculum.

The State Board of Health collects

and compiles vital statistics and through its divisions, Nursing, Tuberculosis, Venereal and Preventable Diseases, relates itself definitely to the child conservation program. For all these state agencies there is pressing need of correlation and coördination. Possibly the Ohio plan for a state council would afford a solution of this difficulty.

Besides the administrative agencies of the state herein referred to, there is state wide provision for county juvenile courts which hear the problems of the delinquent, dependent and neglected child and which administer the county allowance (so-called mothers' pension law). It has been the aim in Minnesota to establish close contact between the juvenile courts and the state and county child welfare agencies in order that the judicial phases of the problem may have adequate administrative supplement.

The investigation of county allowances and the follow-up supervision where such allowances are granted, the investigation of neglect and delinquency and the provision for probation, are all matters of an administrative character for which the child welfare boards are gradually assuming a larger measure of responsibility.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about thirty years old, and its history is therefore a history of youth. This youthfulness is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to adopt new ideas and methods more readily than older nations. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has not yet had time to develop a strong and stable government. The second of these is the fact that the United States is a large nation. It covers a vast area of land, and its population is growing rapidly. This size gives it a great advantage in terms of resources and power, but it also makes it difficult to govern. The third of these is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation. It is made up of many different peoples, each with its own customs and traditions. This diversity is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to draw on a wide range of experiences and ideas. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it makes it difficult to reach a consensus on important issues.

The fourth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. It is a land of opportunity, and it has attracted people from all over the world. This immigration has been one of its greatest strengths, for it has allowed it to draw on the talents and skills of people from many different cultures. It has also been one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has created a large and diverse population that is difficult to govern. The fifth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers. It is a land of adventure and discovery, and it has been the home of many great explorers and inventors. This pioneering spirit is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to take risks and try new things. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

The sixth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of freedom. It is a land of liberty, and it has been the home of many great thinkers and writers. This freedom is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to develop a strong and vibrant culture. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war. The seventh of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of power. It is a land of strength, and it has been the home of many great leaders and statesmen. This power is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to protect its interests and promote its values. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

The eighth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope. It is a land of optimism, and it has been the home of many great visionaries and dreamers. This hope is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to look forward to a better future. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

The ninth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress. It is a land of innovation, and it has been the home of many great scientists and inventors. This progress is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to develop new technologies and improve the lives of its people. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war. The tenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace. It is a land of harmony, and it has been the home of many great peacemakers and diplomats. This peace is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to build a strong and stable society. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

The eleventh of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice. It is a land of fairness, and it has been the home of many great judges and lawyers. This justice is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to protect the rights of its people. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war. The twelfth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of love. It is a land of compassion, and it has been the home of many great teachers and parents. This love is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to build a strong and caring society. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

The thirteenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of faith. It is a land of belief, and it has been the home of many great religious leaders and thinkers. This faith is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to find meaning and purpose in life. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war. The fourteenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of courage. It is a land of bravery, and it has been the home of many great warriors and heroes. This courage is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to face its enemies and defend its values. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

The fifteenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of wisdom. It is a land of knowledge, and it has been the home of many great philosophers and scholars. This wisdom is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to understand the world and its people. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war. The sixteenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of strength. It is a land of power, and it has been the home of many great athletes and warriors. This strength is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to protect its interests and promote its values. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

The seventeenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of speed. It is a land of progress, and it has been the home of many great inventors and engineers. This speed is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to develop new technologies and improve the lives of its people. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war. The eighteenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of beauty. It is a land of art and culture, and it has been the home of many great artists and writers. This beauty is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to create a strong and vibrant society. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

The nineteenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of health. It is a land of vitality, and it has been the home of many great doctors and scientists. This health is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to develop new medicines and improve the lives of its people. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war. The twentieth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of happiness. It is a land of joy and contentment, and it has been the home of many great philosophers and thinkers. This happiness is one of its greatest strengths, for it allows it to build a strong and caring society. It is also one of its greatest weaknesses, for it has led to a lot of conflict and war.

## FOREWORD

SELDOM does the American Academy publish doctors' dissertations. This dissertation by Miss Sadie T. Mossell, however, is so replete with interesting information as to the life of migrant Negro families in Philadelphia and the thesis is so suggestive, not only as to methods but as to conclusions, that we are glad indeed to have the opportunity to publish it.

It was not without significance that Miss Mossell is one of three colored women who were first to receive the degree of doctor of philosophy in this country, and these three degrees were all conferred in June of this year (1921).

The Academy sends out this monograph with the hope that it may stimulate other students, particularly of the colored race, to devote their scientific attainments to a study of living and industrial conditions among the Negroes in this country.

CLYDE L. KING,  
*Editor.*





## CONTENTS

### CHAPTER I

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	
The Negro Migration of 1916, 1917, 1918.....	173
A Detailed Statement of the Migration to Philadelphia During This Period.....	173

### CHAPTER II

THE SCOPE, PURPOSE AND METHOD OF THE INVESTIGATION.....	178
---	-----

### CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONS, INCOMES AND SOURCES OF INCOME.....	180
---	-----

### CHAPTER IV

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.....	185
-----------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER V

A SUGGESTED BUDGET.....	206
-------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE FAMILIES STUDIED AND THE MIGRATION TO PHILADELPHIA.....	213
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## PREFACE

THE exodus of the Negro from the southern to the northern states during 1916, 1917, and 1918 called forth numerous dissertations on the causes and effects of the movement. Some of these dealt with the entire migration, while others limited themselves to a particular aspect of the influx to a given territory. The latter method has been adopted in the following discussion, which is an attempt to arrive at conclusions concerning the migrants to Philadelphia, through an intensive analysis of the budgets of a small number of their group. The statements leading to these conclusions would perhaps be more forceful if supported by charts and diagrams. But, for publication purposes it was found necessary that these be omitted.

For whatever value the study has, the author is particularly indebted to Dr. Raymond T. Bye of the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, who gave untiring and sympathetic guidance, and to her mother, who checked the statistical work, read the manuscript and rendered in other ways inestimable aid.

SADIE TANNER MOSSELL.

# The Standard of Living Among One Hundred Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia

By SADIE TANNER MOSSELL, Ph.D.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Negro Migration of 1916, 1917, 1918.

A Detailed Statement of the Migration to Philadelphia During This Period.

IT is estimated that four hundred thousand Negroes suddenly moved North during the years 1916, 1917, 1918.<sup>1</sup> The movement embraced Negroes of all classes<sup>2</sup> and from every state south of Delaware, east of, but including Texas.<sup>3</sup> The causes for their coming were two-fold: on the one hand, certain conditions in the South impelled them to leave; on the other, fortuitous circumstances made it desirable to invite them to come north.<sup>4</sup>

The most important of the impelling circumstances we have classified as follows:

Economic	low wages
	failure of crops due to the boll-weevil, resulting in unemployment
	dissatisfaction with the tenant and crop sharing system.

Social

poor schools  
segregation  
monotonous farm life  
lynching

Political

disfranchisement  
mistreatment and persecution by representatives of the law.

Generally dissatisfied, therefore, with the régime of the South, the Negro was ready to abandon it for the first opening elsewhere. Foreign immigrants had always been influential in keeping him out of the northern labor market. But the Great War cut off European labor at a time when war orders were most pressing and labor most needed. The industries of the North were forced to turn to the Negro as their only immediately available supply of labor. As an inducement to come north, they offered him the antithesis of many of the conditions which made the Negro desirous of leaving the South, viz.:

High wages  
Little or no unemployment  
Educational facilities, the best in the land  
The lure of the city  
The ballot  
Greater justice in the courts.

Of the four hundred thousand Negroes who took advantage of the oppor-

<sup>1</sup> Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1920, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Negro Migration in 1916-1917, U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Negro Economics, 1919, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, Washington, 1918.

<sup>4</sup> W. O. Scroggs, *Interstate Migration of The Negro Population*, *Journal of Political Economy*, 1917, p. 1034; How the War Brings Unprecedented Opportunities to the Negro Race, *Current Opinion*, Dec., 1916, p. 404-405; Lure of the North for Negroes, *Survey*, April 7, June 2, 1917; *The Crisis*, Oct., 1916, p. 270. June, 1917, p. 63.



tunity to move north, at least forty thousand<sup>6</sup> came to Philadelphia. Since the present investigation deals entirely with the migrant who came to that city it seems advisable that as a background for the study we should inquire more in detail into the exodus to Philadelphia.

The migration to Philadelphia began in the spring of 1916<sup>6</sup> and was maintained at a normal rate of 150 per week from that time on to the spring of 1918 when the city was confronted with the largest influx of Negroes in its history. Eight to ten thousand arrived during the months of April, May and June alone. After this time, however, the migration dropped back to its normal rate.<sup>7</sup> But with the signing of the Armistice in November of 1918, war orders and the accompanying need for an increased labor supply ended. The demand for a further exodus of Negroes no longer existing, migration to Philadelphia, in the proportions previously described, ceased.

In an exodus based so largely on economic and social motives one is not surprised to find that many migrants sought of their own accord to settle in Philadelphia, an industrial center, a city of "brotherly love," reputed to have a favorable attitude

toward colored people. We find, nevertheless, that regardless of the attractions of the city *per se*, there were definite influences at work to induce Negroes to come to Philadelphia. The chief of these were the railroads of Pennsylvania and the industries of Philadelphia.

The Pennsylvania and Erie Railroads found it impossible to keep their systems in repair because of a shortage of labor. They, therefore, sent labor agents into the South to persuade Negroes to supply this demand. Early in the summer of 1916 the agents of these railroads picked up trainloads of Negroes promiscuously from Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Pensacola, Florida. They brought twelve thousand of them into Pennsylvania, one thousand of whom were sent to Philadelphia.<sup>8</sup>

The industrial plants situated in and adjacent to Philadelphia were also influential in attracting Negroes to the city. As early as August, 1916, The National Hosiery and Underwear Manufacturers of Philadelphia proposed bringing colored girls from the South to work in knitting mills. In preparation for this work, girls were at that time being trained at Endfield, North Carolina, to take permanent positions in the northern mills.<sup>10</sup>

Similar propositions were made by other manufacturers. The sending of labor agents into the South was, however, for the most part rendered unnecessary for the manufacturers of Philadelphia, because the majority of the migrants who had their transportation paid by the railroads left their employ on finding wages higher in other industries.<sup>11</sup> The extent of the

<sup>6</sup> The approximation that 40,000 Negroes came to Philadelphia during the period of migration above described is derived from an estimate made by the Division of Negro Economics and based on the number of Negroes employed in Philadelphia in 1917 in excess of the number employed in 1915, which number is given as 33,500.<sup>8</sup> To this we added the conservative estimate of 10,000 for 1918. The sum of these two numbers assures us of a minimum influx of 40,000. The reader is cautioned against considering that Philadelphia's colored population was permanently increased to this extent; since with the closing down of war industries there was a readjustment of population.

<sup>7</sup> Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, July 28, 1918.

<sup>9</sup> Negro Migration in 1916-1917, Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, pp. 55, 135.

<sup>11</sup> Philadelphia *North American*, August 2, 1918.

<sup>12</sup> Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, p. 135.

demand for Negro labor by the industries of Philadelphia may, however, be judged from the following press comment:

Four hours after the Federal Labor Exchange had opened yesterday it was apparent that if requisitions for Negro labor filed by various manufacturers in the metropolitan zone were filled, Philadelphia and this section of Pennsylvania would have a fresh race problem. For in the 850 requisitions were demands for 257,164 men for August, September, and October in war industries in this state, and of that number were requisitions for 186,000 Negroes alone, to be used in unskilled labor.<sup>12</sup>

The demand for Negro labor having come entirely from the industries and for unskilled labor, we are not surprised to find the migrants almost wholly employed as unskilled laborers in the industrial plants of Philadelphia. In the column opposite is a statement of the plants in which they worked largely in this capacity and the number employed, during the year 1917.

The sudden increase, in such large proportions, in the Philadelphia Negro population, which, as we have just seen, was the result of unusual opportunities for work offered by the city and of the purposeful efforts of the industries to secure labor, created serious problems. The most pressing of these was the housing of the new comers. The Pennsylvania Railroad was the only industry which provided any kind of housing for the migrant. The camps in which it lodged him, however, proved to be of little assistance, since the camps themselves, consisting of ordinary tents and box cars, did not provide adequate shelter and since many of the men left the employ of the railroad, while others abandoned the camps as soon as they were able to bring their families north.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, August 2, 1918.

<sup>13</sup> Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, p. 135.

#### NEGRO LABORERS EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRIAL PLANTS OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1917

Pennsylvania Railroad Camps	
Girard.....	170
Mantau Junction.....	300
Frankford Junction.....	60
Eastern Pennsylvania Camp...	150
Baltimore and Ohio Camps.....	120
Reading Camps.....	300
<hr/>	
Total for Railroad Camps.....	1,100
<hr/>	
Midvale Steel Co. ....	4,000
Atlantic Refining Co. ....	1,000
Franklin Sugar Co. ....	700
Keystone Paving and Construction Co.	1,100
(Chester)	
Westinghouse-Church-Kerr.....	600
(Essington)	
Eddystone Munition Corporation...	600
Disston Saw Co.....	400
<hr/>	
Total Estimated Number in Plants Visited.....	8,400
Estimated Number in Plants Not Visited.....	7,750
Estimated Number of Women and Children.....	16,250
<hr/>	
Total Estimate for Philadelphia .	33,500

Housing conditions in the city were deplorable. Press comments describe the Negroes as herded together like cattle and tell us of one room measuring 16 by 20 feet in which twenty men slept on the floor, as no beds were provided, and for which the proprietor charged \$1.50 a week.<sup>14</sup> It was found necessary, therefore, immediately to ameliorate the housing condition and its accompanying social problems.

To that end, interested organizations and individuals in the city formed committees to assist in the work. The Philadelphia Housing Association sent out inspectors to inquire into the na-

<sup>14</sup> Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Jan. 26, 1917; Jan. 31, 1918.

ture of the housing situation and to find possibilities for improving it. They were also active in forming committees on Negro migration among other organizations. Through their efforts the Civic Club of Philadelphia joined in the work being carried on in the interest of Negro migration by the Central Committee of the Department of Health and Charities.<sup>15</sup>

A committee was appointed by Bishop Rhinelander, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to take action in the promotion of better housing conditions for the Negro migrant. The committee consisted of social workers, church officials, and representatives of such industries as the Franklin Sugar Refining Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad.<sup>16</sup> Representatives of the Armstrong Association, the Travelers' Aid, the Society for Organizing Charity, the Philadelphia Housing Association and various Negro churches formed a joint committee to provide suitable housing for Negro families arriving in the city and to aid them in securing work.<sup>17</sup>

The Philadelphia Academy of Medicine, composed of Negro physicians, dentists and druggists, put into effect measures calculated to meet requirements for housing, sanitation, medical attention and education. Eighty colored physicians of the city collected information which took the form of a weekly report to the Bureau of Health. Real estate dealers were asked to submit lists of houses immediately available and to provide hundreds of new ones, cheaply but substantially built. Stereoptican lectures and talks were given on a large scale in all the Negro churches, telling the new arrivals how to care for themselves in Philadelphia,

how to avoid colds, and giving them other useful information.<sup>18</sup>

The Interdenominational Ministerial Union embracing all Negro ministers of the city mapped out a detailed plan to assist the migrants. They tried not only to enroll them in the churches but to give them aid through the church. One of the most active churches in carrying out the program was Calvary M. E. Church, Broad and Bainbridge Streets, which enrolled 4,200 children in its Sunday School, gave out 50 buckets of soup daily during the winter of 1918, and coal to all who needed it. This same church formed a Committee of One Hundred to deal with the idle and indolent among the migrants.<sup>19</sup> Many other churches while not administering physical comforts, nevertheless played their part by giving sound advice to the migrant. They urged him to send his children to school, to take advantage of the libraries and night schools, himself, to give the best service to his employer regardless of pay, and above all to remember that in him the race was on trial; for now he was given a chance to work at a living wage, to buy a home, save money and become an active part of Philadelphia's citizenry. The entire country was watching to see what advantage he would take of this opportunity.<sup>20</sup>

It is difficult to measure just what each of the committees and associations which we have mentioned did accomplish, but for our purpose it is sufficient to point out that most of the social organizations of the city tried to aid the Negro migrant to become adjusted to his new environment. Their voluntary and cheerful efforts must

<sup>18</sup> Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, p. 137.

<sup>19</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, July 30, 1917; *Public Ledger*, Jan. 31, 1918.

<sup>20</sup> Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, p. 138.

<sup>15</sup> *Public Ledger*, Jan. 26, 1917; Jan. 31, 1918; *Evening Bulletin*, March 26, 1917.

<sup>16</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 24, 1920.

<sup>17</sup> *Public Ledger*, July 28, 1918.

not, however, be taken as an indication of the manner in which the Philadelphia public, white and colored, received the migrant. If we may judge the attitude of the whites by their efforts to segregate him, it would seem that he was highly unwelcome. The housing problem was itself a result of the determination on the part of the white people that the migrant should live only in that part of the city in which Negroes had previously lived. Vacant houses in other sections were not for rent or for sale to Negroes.<sup>21</sup> The increase in Negro population greatly stimulated the movement, already on foot, to segregate Negro children in the schools. Also such social privileges as the service of eating houses and the attending of white churches and theatres by Negroes, were practically withdrawn after the influx of Negro migrants into Philadelphia.<sup>22</sup>

Actual conflicts between the two races were not numerous; only one of any importance occurred during the period of the migration, and this was a result of the impending housing problem. A colored probation officer of the Municipal Court, a woman of refinement and training and an old citizen of Philadelphia, purchased and took up her residence at the house numbered 2936 Ellsworth Street. The white people in the neighborhood resented her living there and besieged the house. A race riot ensued in which two men were killed and sixty injured.<sup>23</sup>

This incident explains the attitude of the Negro public of Philadelphia toward the coming of the migrant. As in the case of the probation officer so in numerous other occurrences, the colored people of every class received harsh treatment at the hands of the

white public. This was virtually unknown to the Philadelphia Negro, for the city had long possessed a relatively small population of Negroes of culture, education and some financial means. They had always enjoyed the same social and educational facilities as the whites and courteous treatment from them. But, with the increase in population by a group of generally uneducated and untrained persons, these privileges were withdrawn as has already been discussed. The old colored citizens of Philadelphia resented this, placed the blame at the migrant's door and stood aloof from him. Negro preachers invited the new arrivals into the church but many of the congregations made him know that he was not wanted. In some cases the church split over the matter, the migrants and their sympathizers withdrawing and forming a church for themselves.

The Negro migrants were not absolutely blameless in the attitude assumed toward them by the white and colored public. While crime and immorality among them never developed beyond control, many of their number were to be seen lounging on corners, frequenting dens of vice and saloons and arming themselves with razors and pistols, thereby increasing the number of court cases and greatly marring the records of the Negroes in Philadelphia and the peace of the city.<sup>24</sup> Although the numbers indulging in these practices may have composed only a small percentage of the total migrants, in such cases the action of the few condemned all.

This situation brings clearly before us the principal inquiries which the migration as a whole has raised in the minds of all who have studied it. Even from our brief discussion of the migration to Philadelphia the same questions occur to us: Was the mi-

<sup>21</sup> *Public Ledger*, July 28, 1918. Jan. 26, 1918; Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, p. 135.

<sup>22</sup> Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, p. 135.

<sup>23</sup> *Public Ledger*, July 29, 1918.

<sup>24</sup> *Evening Bulletin*, July 30, 1917.



grant to Philadelphia able to adapt himself to the environment of an industrial economy, and did his presence help or hinder the racial condition in that city? Believing that the standard of living maintained by a people is an index of the extent to which they have

adapted themselves to a given environment, we have undertaken to analyze the incomes and expenditures of a group of migrant families in order to ascertain the character of their standards of living and thereby to judge of the degree of adaptation obtained by them.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SCOPE, PURPOSE AND METHOD OF THE INVESTIGATION

The following study is based upon an examination of the budgets of one hundred Negro migrant families that came to Philadelphia, under the conditions just described, during the years 1917 and 1918, chiefly from the agricultural districts of Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina.

The purpose of the investigation is: (1) to analyze the budgets of a group of Negro migrant families in Philadelphia; (2) from an analysis of the budgets and from a knowledge of physical requirements for the maintenance of the body in health and a fair degree of comfort, to determine what in our judgment constitutes a fair standard of living for the Negro migrant in Philadelphia; how many of the families investigated were able so to adapt themselves to the environment of Philadelphia as to be able to obtain not only an income sufficient to provide such a standard of living, but also so to spend it as to procure a fair standard of living; (3) as far as is possible from the scope of our study, to ascertain what effect these Negro migrants had upon the racial condition in that city; and what suggestions a study of the incomes and expenditures of one hundred migrant families can offer for improving that condition.

#### 1. SELECTION OF FAMILIES

The one hundred families considered in this investigation lived in that part of the twenty-ninth ward which is

bounded on the north and east by Ridge Avenue, on the south by Master Street, and on the west by Twenty-third Street, covering an area of six and one-half city blocks. This location was chosen because its Negro population was practically limited to migrants from the South since 1916. Previous to this date, the neighborhood was inhabited almost entirely by white people, while in 1919 one could scarcely find a white family. The investigator was certain, therefore, to find a fruitful field for her study.

#### 2. OBTAINING THE RESULTS

The investigating was done by the writer who personally visited each of the families upon whose budgets this dissertation is based, during the period extending from October 2, 1919 to December 31, 1919 inclusive. The inquiries made of each family were:

Address .....

Date of visits .....

1. Where did you live before coming to Philadelphia?
2. When did you come to Philadelphia?
3. How many persons are in your family and what are their ages?
4. Who is head of your family?
5. Relationship of rest of family to head?
6. Who in family works?
7. Age of each who works?
8. Where does each work?
9. What does each do?
10. How many weeks has each lost from work since last November?

11. Cause of lost time?
12. Wage of each who works?
13. Number of rooms in home? Type of house? Condition? Conveniences?
14. Number of rooms sub-let?
15. Amount received from each? Weekly? Monthly? Yearly?
16. Number boarders?
17. Amount each pays?
18. How much do you spend for rent? Note increases or decreases in past year.
19. How much for light? How much for heat?
20. How much for food?
21. How much for clothing?
22. How much for insurance? Ordinary? Health? Industrial? Lodges?
23. How much for church?
24. How much for furniture?
25. How much for doctor? How much for dentist?
26. How much for carfare?
27. How much for tobacco?
28. How much for alcohol?
29. How much for amusement? What kind of amusement?
30. Other expenditures?
31. How much do you save? What debts have you?

Expenditures on clothing were secured by the investigator's asking the housewife which of the garments listed on page 180 had been bought during the past year and for what price.<sup>25</sup>

Information gathered by personal observation and by questioning the housewife was supplemented by the records of credit purchases of food, fuel and light products as listed in grocery account books for periods varying in length from three to six months.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. HANDLING OF RESULTS

The material thus obtained was classified on a yearly basis.<sup>27</sup> The in-

<sup>25</sup> See discussion of Clothing on page 192.

<sup>26</sup> See discussion of Food on page 185 and of Light and Fuel on page 197.

<sup>27</sup> For example, if the food purchases of a family were secured for six months, they were doubled to obtain the yearly expenditure.

comes and expenditures of families were grouped in tables according to both the size of the family and, in separate tables, the size of the income. For the latter purpose, starting with the lowest income of any family in the study, *i.e.* \$766.50, sixteen income groups were set up until the maximum income of a single family, \$5,581.60, was reached. In order to compare the incomes of families of various sizes and with different incomes, the arithmetical average<sup>28</sup> was adopted, since it gives equal weight to both extremes and also eliminates individual departures from the type. The average was obtained for the incomes and expenditures of families, both in dollars and percentages of the total income.

Use was also made of frequency tables in which items of the same class were grouped and the number of cases falling in each class enumerated; *e.g.*, the number of families saving less than \$100 and the number saving over \$900.

### ACCURACY OF RESULTS

We do not claim for the study the exactness of a mathematical problem. But we feel that it is as accurate as it is possible to obtain budgetary statistics gathered by a house to house canvas. Wherever possible, every reported expenditure was checked in some manner. Bank deposits, Liberty Bonds and other savings were not recorded unless evidences of their possession could be produced. Wages were verified by viewing the pay envelopes; insurance, by inspecting the policies; food, coal, clothing purchases,

<sup>28</sup> Attention is called to the fact that the significance of percentages diminishes as the number of cases decreases. For that reason families of a large size or families falling in the higher income groups, both of which are few in number, seem to deviate from the tendencies manifested by the majority of the families.

## EXPENDITURES ON CLOTHING

## LIST OF GARMENTS WORN BY MEN

<i>Article</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Article</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Suits .....			Shoes .....		
Extra Pants .....			Shoes Repaired .....		
Overcoats .....			Rubbers .....		
Overalls .....			Night Shirts		
Shirts for			for Summer .....		
Work .....			for Winter .....		
Dress .....			Underwear		
Collars .....			for Summer .....		
Ties .....			for Winter .....		
Suspenders .....			Gloves .....		
Belts .....			Garters .....		
Socks or .....			Sundries .....		
Stockings .....					
Hats .....					

## LIST OF GARMENTS WORN BY WOMEN

<i>Article</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Article</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Hats .....			Shoes, new, repaired ..		
Coats .....			Rubbers .....		
Suits .....			Stockings .....		
Dresses, wash, woolen ..			Garters .....		
Waists .....			Corsets .....		
Petticoats .....			Gloves .....		
Underwear			Dress Goods .....		
for Summer .....			Skirts .....		
for Winter .....			Handkerchiefs .....		
Nightdresses .....			Corset Covers .....		
for Summer .....			Combinations .....		
for Winter .....			Sundries .....		

by bills held by the housewife, or store records when they were bought on credit. Moreover, the investigator, being herself a colored person, was

able to meet the families on intimate terms. They cordially received her and answered the inquiries she made to the best of their ability.

## CHAPTER III

## OCCUPATIONS, INCOMES AND SOURCES OF INCOME

One hundred and sixty-one persons in the families studied were breadwinners. Of this number twenty-seven were employed in semi-skilled, skilled, or professional occupations, while the remaining one hundred and thirty-four were laborers or domestics.

## Number of Breadwinners:

Fathers .....	96
Mothers .....	52
Children .....	13
Total .....	161

The range of employments in which the

majority of the persons were engaged as laborers included every kind of occupation classified by the census of 1910 except one, extractive industries. Since Philadelphia is not a center for this type of work, we can say that the group was represented in all of the principal occupations of Philadelphia.

The family incomes derived by wage earners from the various occupations in which they were engaged, ranged from \$766.50 to \$5,581.60. Seventy-five per cent of the incomes fell, however, between \$766.50 and \$1,970. The exact distribution of the incomes is shown in Table 2. It will be seen that only a small percentage of the families were able to maintain themselves in the higher income groups and also that the percentage of families in the income groups above the \$1,670-\$1,970 group tended to decrease with each increase in income. That is, the percentage of families in the higher income groups became increasingly smaller.

However, the average income per family tended to decrease, and the average per capita income for families of various sizes did decrease regularly for every increase in the size of the family, with the exception of the two families of nine and twelve members respectively. There, perhaps, had we had a sufficient number of families for the law of average to apply, the same decrease would have been noted. Although the average per capita income for these two families was not less than that of families of the next smaller size, nevertheless, it was not as great as that of families consisting of two or three persons. Thus we are justified in saying that the per capita income of the families under consideration decreased with an increase in the size of the family.

The incomes of thirty-three families were obtained entirely from the father's

earnings, while those of the remaining sixty-seven families contained contributions from mothers, children or lodgers. The percentage of families in the various income groups that received a part of their income from any one or more of these sources increased with an increase in the size of the income group. Indeed, every one of the twenty-five families that had incomes above \$1,970 secured subsidiary contributions to their incomes.

Moreover, as the size of the income increased, the percentage of families receiving additions to their incomes from each of the above mentioned sources, increased. This would seem to indicate that relatively more families in the higher income groups relied upon an increasingly larger number of sources of income than in the lower income groups. And when we record sources of income so as to show the number of sources from which each family received money, we find that a greater percentage of the families in the higher income groups than in the lower groups obtained their incomes from many sources. Thus Table 1 shows that in the first income group (\$767-\$1,067) 50 per cent of the families received incomes from one source and the remaining 50 per cent secured them from two sources; while in the seventh income group (\$2,573-\$2,873) none of the families received income from one source but 17 per cent obtained it from two sources, 66 per cent, from three sources, and 17 per cent, from four sources. Not only, therefore, did a larger percentage of the families in the higher income groups receive portions of their incomes from other sources than the father's wage but also from a greater number of sources than those families in the lower income groups.

Upon examining the relation of contributions to the income from other



TABLE 1  
ANALYSIS OF INCOMES OF ALL FAMILIES, BY SIZE OF FAMILIES, SHOWING AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF INCOME, AND AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED BY DIFFERENT MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

NUMBER OF		AVERAGE INCOME		AVERAGE INCOME CONTRIBUTED BY							PER CENT AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES RECEIVING INCOME FROM:										NUMBER AND PER CENT OF	
Persons in Family	Families	Per Family	Per Capita	Father	Mother	Children	Lodgers		Father Only	Mother	Children	Lodgers	One Source	Two Sources	Three Sources	Four Sources	Other Sources Who than Father	Mothers Who Work	Children Who Work			
2	28	\$1,555.22	\$926.11	75.74 \$1,327.21	18.13 \$322.22	.01 \$14.76	6.12 Per cent \$188.03 Number	Per cent Dollars	25 7	64 18	03 1	21 6	25 7	64 18	11 3	..	75 21	64 18	100 1			
3	29	1,683.44	561.14	72.85 \$1,217.92	21.37 \$363.91	3.18 \$43.03	2.60 Per cent \$98.59 Number	Per cent Dollars	31 9	58 17	03 1	20 6	34 10	55 16	11 3	..	60 20	59 17	06 2			
4	15	1,855.13	463.78	76.96 \$1,286.00	8.57 \$208.00	3.93 \$100.53	10.54 Per cent \$260.60 Number	Per cent Dollars	47 7	33 5	13 2	33 5	47 7	34 5	13 2	06 1	53 8	33 5	07 2			
5	14	1,601.37	320.27	81.52 \$1,303.43	16.42 \$262.06	....	2.06 Per cent \$35.28 Number	Per cent Dollars	43 46	57 7	..	28 4	43 6	36 5	21 3	..	57 8	50 7	..			
6	7	1,859.88	309.98	71.27 \$1,364.57	15.99 \$316.45	12.20 \$163.43	0.54 Per cent \$15.43 Number	Per cent Dollars	43 13	55 4	14 1	14 1	43 3	43 3	..	14 1	57 4	57 4	07 2			
7	5	1,635.68	232.27	90.04 \$1,436.00	2.00 \$20.80	6.45 \$147.68	1.51 Per cent \$21.20 Number	Per cent Dollars	20 1	20 1	80 2	20 1	20 1	80 4	..	..	80 4	20 1	08 2			
9	1	4,189.00	477.00	18.62 \$780.00	....	74.47 \$3,120.00	6.91 Per cent \$289.00 Number	Per cent Dollars	..	..	100 1	100 1	..	..	100 1	..	100 1	..	28 2			
12	1	5,581.60	465.08	27.95 \$1,560.00	....	72.05 \$4,021.60	....	Per cent Number	..	..	100 1	..	..	100 1	..	..	100 1	..	30 3			

# NEGRO MIGRANT FAMILIES IN PHILADELPHIA

183

TABLE 2  
ANALYSIS OF INCOME OF ALL FAMILIES BY SIZE OF INCOME, SHOWING AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF INCOME, AND AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED BY DIFFERENT MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

Income Group Number	Income Groups	Number of Families	Average Number of		Average Income per Family	Average Income Contributed by:				Per Cent and Number of Families Receiving Income from:										Number and Per Cent of:			
			Persons per Family	Equivalent Adult Males		Father	Mother	Children	Lodgers	Per cent Dollars	Father	Only	Mother	Children	Lodgers	One Source	Two Sources	Three Sources	Four Sources	Other Sources than Father	Mother Who Work	Children Who Work	
1	\$767-1,067	6	4.5	3.17	\$936.78	Per cent Dollars	48.34 \$607.00	49.16 \$606.96	.....	2.50 \$23.83	Per cent Number	33 2	67 4	.....	.....	17 1	50 3	.....	.....	67 4	66 4	..	..
2	1,068-1,368	22	3.5	2.51	1,253.00	Per cent Dollars	90.63 \$1,134.72	0.35 \$4.81	5.80 \$75.65	.....	3.22 \$37.82	Per cent Number	86 19	04 11	09 2	9 2	86 19	.....	.....	14 3	04 1	09 3	..
3	1,369-1,669	25	3.7	2.86	1,511.67	Per cent Dollars	86.54 \$1,203.84	9.18 \$144.53	.....	4.28 \$63.00	Per cent Number	40 10	40 10	.....	.....	24 6	40 10	04 14	.....	60 15	40 10	..	..
4	1,670-1,970	22	3.0	2.61	1,866.98	Per cent Dollars	73.34 \$1,358.06	24.93 \$485.99	0.56 \$9.93	0.67 \$13.00	Per cent Number	09 2	86 19	09 1	18 4	9 2	77 17	14 3	.....	91 20	86 19	04 1	..
5	1,971-2,271	9	3.8	3.28	2,055.97	Per cent Dollars	72.49 \$1,489.78	23.26 \$479.96	2.56 \$32.00	1.69 \$34.23	Per cent Number	.....	88 8	11 1	.....	.....	78 7	22 2	.....	100 9	88 8	06 1	..
6	2,272-2,572	4	2.2	2.70	2,459.27	Per cent Dollars	70.64 \$1,728.05	27.99 \$594.72	.....	1.37 \$136.50	Per cent Number	.....	100 3	.....	.....	25 1	75 3	25 1	.....	100 4	75 3	..	..
7	2,573-2,873	6	4.3	4.02	2,755.33	Per cent Dollars	52.25 \$1,430.67	22.49 \$624.00	9.99 \$277.33	15.27 \$423.33	Per cent Number	.....	83 6	33 2	83 5	.....	17 1	66 4	.....	100 6	83 5	20 3	..
8	2,874-3,174	2	4.0	3.85	2,922.50	Per cent Dollars	44.65 \$1,305.00	5.64 \$164.00	17.89 \$520.00	31.82 \$933.50	Per cent Number	.....	50 1	50 1	100 2	.....	50 1	.....	.....	100 2	50 1	25 1	..
9	3,175-3,475	..	..	.....	.....	Per cent Dollars	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	..
10	3,476-3,776	1	3.0	2.65	3,749.00	Per cent Dollars	55.58 \$2,084.00	44.42 \$665.00	.....	.....	Per cent Number	.....	100 1	.....	.....	.....	100 1	.....	.....	100 1	50 1	..	..
11	3,777-4,077	..	..	.....	.....	Per cent Dollars	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	..
12	4,078-4,378	1	9.0	7.60	4,189.00	Per cent Dollars	18.63 \$780.00	.....	74.47 \$3,120.00	6.91 \$289.00	Per cent Number	.....	.....	100 1	.....	100 1	.....	.....	.....	100 1	.....	28 2	..
13	4,379-4,679	..	..	.....	.....	Per cent Dollars	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	..
14	4,680-4,980	..	..	.....	.....	Per cent Dollars	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	..
15	4,981-5,281	..	..	.....	.....	Per cent Dollars	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	..
16	5,282-5,582	2	7.0	5.83	5,572.80	Per cent Dollars	32.67 \$1,820.00	.....	36.02 \$2,010.80	31.31 \$1,742.22	Per cent Number	.....	.....	100 1	.....	100 1	100 2	.....	.....	100 2	.....	30 3	..

sources than the father's earnings, to the size of the family, we find that the percentage of families containing from two to five persons receiving these contributions decreased, while the percentage of families containing from six to twelve persons receiving such contributions increased. Reference to Table 2 will show that 75 per cent of the families consisting of two persons received portions of their incomes from other sources than the father, while only 69 per cent of the families containing three persons, and 53 per cent of those containing four persons, obtained subsidiary contributions to income. If, on the other hand, we examine income Table 1 we shall see that the mothers were the persons who failed to contribute in as large a number of families of three and four members as they did in families of two or five. When there were only two persons in the family the mother could easily go to work, but when she had several young children she remained at home, if it were possible. When she had five children there was usually one old enough to manage affairs at home while the mother went to work. Yet when the family became very large, such as those containing seven, nine and twelve persons, we find a smaller percentage of the mothers working but, in their places, an increased percentage of children. For these reasons we note a decrease in the percentage of families of three and four persons, receiving contributions to their incomes from other sources than the father's wages and an increase in the percentage of families of a larger size receiving parts of their income from the several sources.

Making a reservation for families of three and four members whose deviations have just been explained, we notice a tendency toward an increasing percentage of large size families

securing income from several sources. For example, among families containing two members, 25 per cent obtained support from one source, 64 per cent, from two sources and 11 per cent, from three sources. Among families of seven, 20 per cent received income from one source and 80 per cent, from two sources, while 100 per cent of families of nine, secured income from three sources. It would appear therefore, that the percentage of families receiving contributions to their incomes from other sources than the father, tended to increase with an increase in the size of the family and with an increase in the number of sources from which additions to income were obtained.

We have been discussing contributions to income in relation to the percentage of families that received them. But this does not give the reader any idea of the number of contributors, which is a point of particular interest, especially in the case of children and mothers. There were one hundred and seventy-three children in the entire group of whom fourteen worked; *i.e.*, only 8 per cent of the children were breadwinners. The percentage of children who worked increased with an increase in the size of the family and the size of the income. On the other hand, there were one hundred mothers in the group of whom fifty-two, or 52 per cent, worked. The percentage of mothers who were wage earners decreased with an increase in the size of the family but tended to increase with an increase in the size of the income. The percentage of income that was contributed by fathers and mothers tended to decrease with an increase in income while the percentage contributed by children and lodgers tended to increase.

Comparing the relation of the percentage of income contributed by the

various sources with the size of the family, we find that the percentage coming from fathers, mothers and lodgers tended to decrease with an increase in the size of the family while the percentage assignable to children tended to increase.

Judging from the incomes and sources of income which we have just examined we may attribute to the principal wage earners of the group of migrants under consideration, an ability to find work in an industrial city, an ability which was exercised by a larger number of persons as the size of the family or income increased.

#### SUMMARY

The breadwinners of the group investigated were employed mostly as laborers or domestics. The total family incomes, derived principally from these means, varied from \$766.50 to \$5,581.60 per annum. Seventy-five

per cent of the family incomes fell, however, below \$1,970. Both the family and per capita incomes tended to decrease with an increase in the size of the family, notwithstanding the fact that an increasing percentage of the larger families secured contributions to income from several sources. Similarly, a larger percentage of families in the higher income groups, than in the lower, received additions to the family income from many sources. In fact, but 33 per cent of the families were supported by the earnings of the father alone and none of these families possessed annual incomes of over \$1,970. Although only 8 per cent of the children in all the families worked, the percentage of income contributed by them increased with both the size of the family and the size of the income; while the percentage received from the parents decreased as the size of the family and income increased.

### CHAPTER IV

#### OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE

##### *Food*

Eighty-one of the one hundred families included in this study bought food from the corner grocer and ran an account with him. Sometimes, the grocer recorded in his ledger and in the customer's account book the cost of a purchase, and, occasionally, the articles and their quantity; but in the great majority of cases, he listed items only under the name of merchandise. The customer's account books were balanced at the end of every week or two weeks, according to the pay day of the head of the family. Small balances were allowed by the grocer to be carried from week to week; but failure to pay some deposit at regular intervals cut off the privilege of credit purchase.

The investigator found that over a

period of six months forty-two families, or 51.9 per cent of those making credit purchases, settled their accounts regularly on each pay day, while the remaining families each carried a balance of less than \$10.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The exact food purchases of the families running credit accounts could not be obtained for an entire year; since as soon as a record book was filled and balanced it was lost or destroyed; and since the grocer, himself, failed to preserve the accounts after they had been settled. The purchases of forty of the eighty-one families who ran credit food accounts were, however, secured for a period of six months, dating from July 1 to December 31 inclusive. For the remaining thirty-nine families who also ran credit accounts, a record of purchases was obtainable for periods varying in length from four to three months. In order to secure a figure which would represent food purchases for one year, the exact expenditures for the period secured were doubled or quadrupled, whichever was necessary.



The reasons given for pursuing this method of buying food were: First, it was convenient. A large number of the mothers and fathers worked out. The children left at home to prepare the meals could readily obtain necessary provisions. Second, many of the families spent all their wages during the first part of the week and did not have the cash during the week to pay for food. Third, in some cases the father handled all the money and preferred paying bills to giving his wife money to spend. Fourth, some families felt that it added to their prestige to be able to run a bill, everybody was not trusted to such an extent by the grocer. Besides, the grocer treated them with some deference because they were regular customers.

Expenditures for food by the nineteen families not keeping store books were made by cash payment. Ten of these families made either wholesale or large scale retail purchases,<sup>30</sup> sometimes both. They showed the investigator receipted bills for barrels of flour, bags of corn meal, buckets of lard, barrels or bushels of potatoes and pounds of smoked meats. Their retail purchases were made from one of the chain stores of the American Stores Company or the Atlantic and

<sup>30</sup> The food expenditures of the families that made wholesale or large scale retail purchases were determined by listing first the orders for a year, then those for shorter periods which were decreased to provide for a year. The housewife by her experience was able to say how long a barrel of flour would last or a bag of potatoes. So that relying upon her judgment, estimates for the year were made in the case of large orders. The weekly purchases of nineteen families buying food with cash payment were obtained by the investigator's making regular visits every other day to each of the nineteen families for a period of four weeks, when daily expenditures were obtained from the housewife. It was found at the end of this time that the weekly expenditures were extremely regular and they were, therefore, used as a basis for a one year estimate.

Pacific Stores Company. Each week, or every two weeks, when the head of the family was paid, they bought substantial quantities of groceries from one of the stores mentioned. In addition, the housewife made frequent purchases of vegetables and perishable articles.

The nine remaining families, because of failure to settle their bills with any grocer in the neighborhood, were forced to make cash payments for food. Their purchases were in small quantities, being limited to the meager contents of their purses and to the necessities of each meal.

On page 187 is presented a summary of the food purchases made during four weeks of November, 1919 by three separate families, each representing one of the three methods of buying food practiced by families included in the study and just described. The records of food expenditures were chosen for the following reasons: First, they are typical representations of the quantity of food bought in single purchases, the varieties of food obtained, and of the method of paying for food by the numerous families included in the study. Second; the records of the food purchases hereafter presented, cover the same period of time, November 1 to 28 inclusive. Third, two of the three families whose food accounts are cited in detail, consist of five persons. Their records can, therefore, be compared with a standard set for a normal family of five. Finally, no other three families possess all of the above similarities in regard to the food accounts.

A glance at this list of purchases impresses one with the varied diet of the families making them. Besides, a comparison of the items of provisions obtained by these families with the items suggested by the Bureau of Municipal Research reveals the fact that

A SUMMARY OF THE ITEMS OF FOOD PURCHASED BY THREE FAMILIES DURING  
NOVEMBER, 1919

<i>Bread and Cereals</i>	<i>Shortening and Oils</i>	<i>Dried Fruits</i>
Bread	Butter	Currents
Buns and Rolls	Lard	Prunes
Cake	Olive Oil	Raisins
Crackers	Suet	<i>Sugars</i>
Cream of Wheat	<i>Fresh Vegetables</i>	Molasses
Cornmeal	Cabbage	Sugar
Flour	Celery	<i>Beverages</i>
Oatmeal	Cranberries	Chocolate
Rice	Lettuce	Coffee
<i>Meats and Fish</i>	Potatoes, Irish	Tea
Beef	Potatoes, sweet	<i>Seasonings and Flavorings</i>
Fish, salt	Spinach	Pot Herbs
Lamb and Mutton	Onions	Thyme and Sage
Pork, Bacon, Ham	<i>Canned Vegetables</i>	Red Pepper
Sausage	Peas	Vanilla Flavoring
Turkey	Tomatoes	<i>Miscellaneous</i>
Veal	String Beans	Baking Powder
<i>Meat Substitutes</i>	<i>Canned Fruit</i>	Jello
Cheese	Pineapple	Ice
Beans, dried	<i>Fresh Fruits</i>	Pickles
Eggs	Apples	Salt
Milk, fresh	Grapes	Yeast cake
	Oranges	

ITEMS OF FOOD SUGGESTED FOR A FAIR STANDARD OF LIVING BY THE  
BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH STUDY OF WORKINGMEN'S  
STANDARD OF LIVING IN PHILADELPHIA. (Pages 53-54)

<i>Bread and Cereals</i>	Milk, fresh	<i>Fresh Fruits</i>
Bread	Peas, dried	Apples
Buns and Rolls	<i>Shortening</i>	Oranges
Cakes, misc.	Lard	Peaches
Cornmeal	Oleomargarine	<i>Dried Fruits</i>
Cornstarch	<i>Fresh Vegetables</i>	Prunes
Flour, wheat	Cabbage	Raisins
Macaroni	Carrots	<i>Sugars</i>
Oatmeal	Corn	Molasses
Rice	Lettuce	Sugar, gran.
<i>Meats and Fish</i>	Onions	<i>Beverages</i>
Beef	Potatoes, Irish	Cocoa
Chicken	Potatoes, sweet	Coffee
Fish, fresh	Spinach	Tea
Fish, salt	String Beans	<i>Miscellaneous</i>
Pork	Tomatoes	Baking Powder
<i>Meat Substitutes</i>	<i>Canned Vegetables</i>	Ice
Beans, dried	Corn	Pickles
Cheese	Peas	Salt
Eggs	Tomatoes	

the record presented in this study is more varied than that of the Research Standard. The latter calls for forty-nine articles of food while the list presented contains fifty-seven food items, thirty-one of which are those suggested in the standard set by the Bureau of Municipal Research.<sup>31</sup>

The question in our minds, however, is in how far is this list of purchases representative of the food consumed by all families included in the study. The investigator can say that it is typical of the ten families who made wholesale and large scale retail purchases, whose food purchases were obtained in detail and by whom the average number of various items of food bought during a period of four weeks was fifty-seven. In regard to the nine families who bought food in small quantities with cash payment and whose food purchases were also obtained in detail for a period of four weeks, the list is too varied, as the average number of items bought by such families during that period was thirty-one. Since the exact articles purchased by families buying food on credit were not all recorded by the grocer an exact reply as to the variety of provisions secured by eighty-one families purchasing food in this manner cannot be given. But, judging from those items which were

recorded, we feel justified in saying that for forty-six of the eighty-one families, the record of articles of food procured by the families presented in our illustration accurately depicts the variety of food obtained. The basis for this assertion is the fact that among this number of families during a period of four weeks, over forty different items of food were listed in addition to the frequent use of the word merchandise to represent articles purchased. On the other hand, because of the small total purchases and the consequent small number of items listed either by name or under the head of merchandise, we do not believe the list of articles of food purchased by three families and presented in this study to be representative of the remaining thirty-five families.

In the majority of cases food was bought in small quantities. Seventeen of the eighty-one families who made credit purchases bought dry groceries (sugar, coffee, tea, flour) for a week and meats and vegetables only when they were needed. But the remaining sixty-four families made all their food purchases in extremely small quantities. Moreover, in those cases where items were listed according to kind and quantity, one found that butter, tea and coffee were bought by the quarter of a pound, potatoes, and flour, by the pound, and meat according

<sup>31</sup> The standards of living investigations made by Chapin, More, Cotton and Little, the New York Factory Investigating Commission, the Bureau of Estimates of New York City, the National War Labor Board, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia were consulted in an effort to secure the requirements of a fair standard of living for the group of families under consideration. The standard set by the Bureau of Municipal Research seemed best fitted for this purpose: First, because it applied to the exact period covered by the present investigation. While the other studies might have been made to apply to this period by the use of an index number, nevertheless their exactness would have been lost by its use, since a general index number covering only budget expenditures has

never been composed. Second, the Bureau standard applied to Philadelphia workingmen. Of the other studies mentioned, the Cotton and Little alone was based on statistics collected in Philadelphia. But it was limited to workingmen in a particular territory. Hence, the price level adopted for the study did not apply to the entire city. Third, the standard we have chosen was based on statistics collected from Negro families, as well as from families belonging to other races. It is, therefore, equally applicable to Negro families. This fact was true of two of the other studies referred to, but neither of these possessed the additional qualification of applying to workingmen in Philadelphia, at the period covered by the present investigation.

to the demands of the particular meal for which it was secured.

The principal reasons for this kind of spending were: First, lack of knowledge on the part of the housewives as to how to buy. It never occurred to many of them that one should purchase more than she needed at the particular time; then, too, those who lived up to their incomes were forced to purchase as little as possible upon each visit to the store and thought that in so doing they were being most economical. Second, unwillingness on the part of the grocer to advance a large stock of food without a substantial deposit, which the purchaser was usually unable to make after meeting the many demands upon his wage.

In reviewing the manner of buying food by the group of families under consideration, one seems to see a relationship between the method of paying for food, the quantity which is bought at one time and the income of the family. The three families that made wholesale cash purchases belonged to the upper income groups, as did also the seven families who made cash large-scale retail purchases, and the seventeen families who bought credit weekly stocks of provisions but settled at the end of each week. On the other hand, each of the nine families who, because of bad credit reputation, were unable to run an account and who secured provisions only for immediate use, belonged to the lowest income groups. We do not seek to maintain that if all the families had had incomes as large as the three wholesale buyers, they would have bought their food in a similar manner; for many of the sixty-four families in the credit group of small-quantity-buyers could have made more economical purchases with the means at their disposal. But it is significant to point out that the nine families who had bad credit and who

made unwise purchases did not make enough money to meet their obligations, not to speak of buying provisions in advance; on the other hand, the twenty-seven families in the upper income groups showed a tendency toward wise expenditures for food and prompt payment of debts contracted in securing provisions.

The cost of food for the families included in this study can best be shown by ascertaining the cost per male adult unit per week. This cannot be determined until the families composed of persons of varying age and size have been reduced to their equivalents in adult males. The United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics,<sup>22</sup> after careful studies and comparisons of food consumption, using the food consumed by an adult male as a basis, ascertained what proportions of the food consumed by an adult male were consumed by the other members of the family. Their results were expressed as follows:

Adult male.....	1.00
Adult female.....	.90
Child, 11-14 yrs.....	.90
Child, 7-10 yrs.....	.75
Child, 4-6 yrs.....	.40
Child, 3 yrs. and under.....	.15

Applying this scale, the equivalent of each family in units of an adult male was worked out. Dividing the amount spent for food by each family by the number of equivalent adult males in the family, we obtained the expenditures made by each family per adult male unit per week. These were averaged and expressed in Tables 3 and 4 under the head of average food expenditures per adult male per week. The preceding calculations

<sup>22</sup> *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, May, 1919, p. 148.





# NEGRO MIGRANT FAMILIES IN PHILADELPHIA

191

TABLE 4  
ANALYSIS OF THE EXPENDITURES OF ALL FAMILIES BY THE SIZE OF THE INCOME, SHOWING THE AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF INCOME SPENT ON EACH ITEM IN THE BUDGET

			AVERAGE INCOME SPENT ON:														AVERAGE						
INCOME GROUP NUMBER	INCOME GROUPS	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	FAMILIES SPENDING LESS THAN \$3.71 PER WEEK PER ADULT MALE ON FOOD.	STAPLES						SUNDRIES								SURPLUS	DEFICIT				
				FOOD			CLOTHING PER ANNUM			RENT	FUEL AND LIGHT	STAPLES	AMUSEMENT	ALCOHOL	CAFES	CHURCH	DOCTOR			FURNITURE	INSURANCE	MISCELLANEOUS	TOBACCO
				PER WEEK	PER ADULT MALE	PER FAMILY	PER ADULT MALE	PER ADULT MALE	PER FAMILY														
1	\$757-1,067	6	Per cent 166.6 Number 4	\$3.26	\$5.45	\$17.03	\$143.33	15.19	17.71	5.81	94.16	....	....	1.76	0.80	2.46	4.67	....	0.79	11.23	3.53	8.92	
2	1,068-1,368	22	Per cent 31.8 Number 7	\$4.36	\$3.87	\$22.81	\$224.82	17.90	12.71	5.74	80.22	....	....	2.36	2.34	2.68	4.15	....	1.88	14.34	8.26	2.82	
3	1,369-1,669	25	Per cent 24.0 Number 6	\$4.76	\$3.04	\$23.68	\$253.68	16.81	11.17	4.76	75.78	0.32	....	3.22	1.46	3.89	4.59	....	1.56	16.41	10.15	2.34	
4	1,670-1,970	22	Per cent 9.0 Number 3	\$5.03	\$4.45	\$24.91	\$256.58	13.72	9.69	3.56	61.42	0.57	....	1.79	1.23	2.49	2.89	0.13	1.36	12.22	26.36	....	
5	1,971-2,271	9	Per cent 11.1 Number 1	\$1.23	\$3.28	\$101.13	\$298.19	14.50	10.95	4.71	65.44	1.10	....	1.59	1.71	1.82	2.84	....	2.91	16.42	18.14	....	
6	2,272-2,572	4	Per cent ... Number ...	\$5.12	\$3.03	\$120.09	\$305.37	12.44	9.33	4.55	54.35	1.57	....	2.38	1.05	5.21	4.26	....	1.49	16.04	29.61	....	
7	2,573-2,873	6	Per cent 50 Number 3	\$5.74	\$3.29	\$133.13	\$454.42	16.38	7.09	3.09	62.85	0.44	....	1.03	2.73	4.31	1.93	0.21	1.24	14.04	23.11	....	
8	2,874-3,174	2	Per cent ... Number ...	\$5.83	\$4.01	\$88.66	\$342.00	11.70	9.44	4.35	65.50	....	....	1.26	2.88	6.04	5.81	....	1.24	14.04	23.11	....	
9	3,175-3,475	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	\$276.00	\$127.00	\$1,915.00	....	....	\$36.50	\$83.95	\$26.00	\$36.50	\$177.00	....	\$34.84	\$379.70	\$644.58	
10	3,476-3,776	1	Per cent ... Number ...	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0.55	3.50	2.78	2.33	....	0.97	\$13.57	13.28	....	
11	3,777-4,077	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	\$20.80	\$131.40	\$104.00	\$25.00	\$87.69	....	\$36.50	\$509.39	\$197.88	
12	4,078-4,378	1	Per cent 100 Number 1	\$2.63	\$4.83	\$1,040.00	\$63.42	\$32.00	\$204.00	\$67.00	\$1,831.00	....	....	....	2.60	2.49	4.78	11.17	....	21.04	35.24	....	
13	4,379-4,679	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	\$881.50	\$1,476.50	....	
14	4,680-4,980	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	
15	4,981-5,281	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	
16	5,282-5,582	3	Per cent 50 Number 1	\$5.80	\$18.67	\$1,040.00	\$167.15	\$12.48	\$730.00	\$144.00	\$2,610.00	....	....	4.76	1.66	1.08	2.41	....	2.46	2.47	24.37	....	
														\$265.30	\$22.45	\$104.00	\$60.00	\$427.00	\$137.12	\$1,357.77	\$1,605.03	....	

have made it possible for us to compare families regardless of differences in the number and age of their members and to apply a like standard to all of them.

If, therefore, we take the cost set by the Bureau of Municipal Research<sup>33</sup> for food per adult male unit per week as a standard and compare the expenditures made for the same by the families under consideration, we shall be able to determine the number of underfed families. We find as a result of this process that as the income increases, the percentage of underfed families decreases. Thus we see that the average food expenditures per adult male per week increases from \$3.26 for families with an income varying from \$767-\$1,067, to \$5.80 for

percentage of underfed families in various income groups, it would seem that families in an income group below \$1,670-\$1,970 were unable to obtain an adequate food supply. For an illustration see table on this page.

If we examine the expenditures of the entire group of families, we shall find that the average number of dollars spent on food tended to increase, while the average per cent of income spent in this manner tended to decrease with an increase in the income: but that both the amount and the per cent of income tended to increase with an increase in the size of the family.

### Clothing

The expenditures for clothing, the investigator obtained by going over a

PERCENTAGE OF UNDERFED FAMILIES

Among Families with Incomes Varying from	\$167-1,067	Six.....	Out of Every Ten Families Were Underfed
" " " " " "	" " " " " "	Three.....	" " " " " "
" " " " " "	1,068-1,363	Two.....	" " " " " "
" " " " " "	1,369-1,669	Less than one	" " " " " "
" " " " " "	1,670-1,970	One.....	Was " "
" " " " " "	1,971-2,271	No.....	" " " " " "
" " " " " "	2,272-2,572		Were " "

families with an income varying from \$5,282-\$5,582, while the average food expenditures per adult male per week decreases from \$6.03, for families of two, to \$1.07 for families of twelve.

Moreover, judging from the percentage of underfed families, the table seems to show that families consisting of more than three persons were underfed; for only in families consisting of this number of persons was the percentage of underfed less than one in ten families. In families consisting of more than three persons, the percentage of underfed was much greater. On the other hand, judging from the

carefully prepared list of garments and asking the housewife which of these had been purchased, for what price, and if any additional pieces of clothing had been bought. When wage-earning sons and daughters purchased their own clothing, they were individually interviewed. But in the great majority of cases the wife knew the garments purchased by each member of the family and their cost, although she had not bought them herself.

The almost uniform practice of wearing each others clothing made it impossible to list garments under the head of the person by whom they were worn. A new coat, suit, two hats or more, would be bought by the family and used by all the girls; or, in the case of men's clothing, by all the boys. In disputes as to who should wear an

<sup>33</sup> The cost of the articles in the food budget recommended by the Department of Municipal Research of Philadelphia for November, 1919 and adopted by us as a standard for food allowances in this study was \$12.06 per week for a family of five or \$9.71 per male adult unit per week.

article, the older children seemed always to be given the preference. Also, when some of the children worked and purchased their own clothing, those who did not work wore the cast off clothing of their more prosperous sisters and brothers. The prudent mothers made these garments over to fit the younger children and thereby provided them with neat and comfortable apparel. In other families, the clothing was worn exactly as it was handed down. But this manner of distributing garments among the various members of the family made it impossible to list clothing expenditures other than by total purchases for the entire family.

Gifts of clothing were very few. This may appear surprising to the reader, but let him recall that the families included in the investigation were new-comers to Philadelphia. They knew practically no one in that city from whom they might obtain such assistance; and their work was not of the nature to offer it to them, for the men were mostly unskilled laborers in manufacturing establishments, the women, cleaners of buildings, factory hands or day workers. So there were left no sources other than charity organizations from which to obtain free articles of clothing. None of the families included in this study had resorted to help from charity in any form during the period of the investigation nor previous to it. The five families that reported gifts of clothing were as follows:

The nature of the occupation of the persons in these families, receiving gifts of clothing, and the differences in the incomes of the families seem to show that they received gifts not so much because of necessity as of opportunity to obtain them.

Credit purchases of clothing were seldom made. Only twelve families reported this method of purchasing. These families all belonged to the lower income groups and told the investigator that this was the only means by which they could obtain garments. The reason given by the remaining families for "paying cash or going without," as they put it, were as follows: First, the startling differences between the prices of the credit merchants and the department stores; second, a tendency on the part of credit merchants to consider these families transients and, therefore, to make them few offers, and these extremely extortionate.

As in the case of food, so in clothing, we shall judge of the nature of the clothing by its cost. The Bureau of Municipal Research Standard, which we have adopted as a guide in estimating the cost of clothing, allows \$346.63 for this item, in a family of five, or \$98.75 per adult male unit per year. In order to compare clothing expenditures of families in our study with those set down in the Standard, we had first to reduce the families to their equivalent adult male units. "No system has been devised, however, by which satisfactory comparisons between

OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES RECEIVING GIFTS

<i>Family Number</i>	<i>Occupation of Head of the Family</i>	<i>Income of Family</i>
64	Butler	\$1,440.00
49	Nurse	1,876.80
37	Cook	1,300.00
15	Domestic	1,768.00
3	Laundress	1,170.00



families can be made with reference to expenditure other than food, although, probably, comparisons on the basis of food consumption would be about as accurate as any that could be made."<sup>34</sup> Assuming that they are, we have used the scale prepared by the War Labor Board and based on food consumption, to reduce the families in this study to equivalent male adult units for the purpose of comparing clothing expenditures. Dividing the amount spent on clothing per year per family by the number of equivalent adult male units in that family, we obtained the cost of clothing for this unit. Comparing the average cost per adult male unit for families of various sizes with \$98.75, the amount allowed by our standard, we found that families consisting of more than three persons were, on the average, underclothed, as were also families with an income of less than \$1,670-\$1,970.

The amount of income spent on clothing by the families under consideration tended to increase, while the percentage of income devoted to this purpose varied, tending, however, to remain approximately the same with an increase in the size of the income. Both the number of dollars and the percentage of income expended on clothing tended to increase with an increase in the size of the family.

#### *Rent*

The amounts spent by each family on rent were obtained by asking the rental charge per week or per month during the year 1918-1919. Replies were given mostly on the basis of one month, because so many of the families lived in rooms and settled with the proprietor of the house upon the pay day of the head of the family, which came usually once a week. Increases in rent during the year were asked for

<sup>34</sup> *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1919, p. 148.

as well as changes due to moving. It was found that the latter seldom existed for, owing to the congested housing conditions, there was practically no place to move, and the difficulty of finding a house or even a room, made a family reticent about searching for another, once it was located.

The investigator also noted the type and condition of each house which was visited. She found that the thirty-seven houses, containing either four, five, six or seven rooms, occupied by families contained in this study, were two story brick dwellings, without gas or a bath and with toilets in the yards. The seven room houses differed from the six room only in that they had a summer kitchen, which was used, however, all the year. The winter kitchen had been converted into a dining room, while the dining room itself was used as a living room or a bed room. The remaining eight houses rented by families investigated were three story brick residences with gas, baths, and furnaces providing hot air heat.

With four exceptions, the physical condition of each of these houses was very poor. Regarding forty-one houses the investigator finds marked on her schedule such comments as these: Boards on window-sills, steps, shutters, worn off and broken. . . . Plaster falling in nearly every room. . . . Floor boards broken. . . . Boxes placed over holes in the floor. . . . I nearly fell into a cellar. . . . Wall paper torn off in the hall. . . . Wall paper falling from ceiling and walls in four of the five rooms. . . . House does not look as if it had been painted inside, nor outside, since being built. . . . Toilet drainage out of repair. . . . Water has to be poured down hopper by the bucket. . . . Underground leakage that keeps water from the toilet in the yard. . . . Odor from toilet is vile. . . . Water

supply too weak to flush the hopper well. . . . Chimney must need cleaning out, as the stoves do not draw well. So much smoke in the house that I thought it must be on fire. . . . It never rains but it pours into this house. The roof must leak all over.

Similar notations were made concerning each of the houses and often several of the preceding comments applied to the same house. There were, however, four exceptions to which attention should be called: viz., the house occupied by family eighty-five, which was a two story brick with five rooms, heated by latrobes; that occupied by family sixty-five, which was a seven room brick with bath, gas, heated by a furnace, and two three story brick houses with bath, gas and furnaces in good order, occupied by families seventy-one and one hundred, respectively. All of these dwellings were in excellent physical condition and were kept in repair. The first of the houses rented for \$26 per month, the second for \$25 per month, while the third and fourth were being bought. The payments made during the year toward the purchasing of the houses were listed under the caption of rent.

The houses rented by families included in the study and sublet to other persons than those in the family, were among the four, five, six and seven room houses, mostly occupied by two families who came from the South together. But the rooms in six of the three story houses were sublet by the principal tenant to many persons or families. For example, family number twenty-eight rented two houses containing twelve rooms each. The husband and wife, of whom the family consisted, occupied three rooms on the first floor of house one and sublet the other twenty-one rooms, furnished or unfurnished as was demanded, to sixteen different families and individuals.

The remaining fifty-five families of our study, that rented rooms, secured them from tenants, in the manner of family number twenty-eight. Only in these cases, usually owners not living in the house themselves had rented or bought a dwelling house, the rooms of which they sublet to many and various persons. Here the real housing problem was apparent. The proprietor came around only on rent day. There was no janitor; the halls and steps were dark, cold and dirty. The cellars and yards were used by the tenants as dumping grounds for their trash. The houses were, on the whole, run down. The one bathroom was extremely dirty and unkempt; many of the window panes were broken and stuffed with rags; there was an alarming need of paint and plaster.

Moreover, these houses were not built for occupation by several families and had not been remodeled to suit their needs. Although a family might have a sufficient number of rooms to house itself, it could not obtain under the conditions provided, the physical necessities for household duties. When the landlord sublet the rooms of an entire house, he provided no heat. Stoves were therefore placed in rooms not built for ventilation by this kind of heating, resulting in the room's being filled with close, dry air. Add to this the fact that a bed room had been turned into a kitchen, where a large size cook stove was usually placed, and from which odors of food and damp clothes being dried by the heat of the cook stove were constantly streaming into the adjoining rooms. Beside these unhealthy conditions, there were often as many as ten families in one three story house, using the same bath and toilet. It is apparent, therefore, that such dwellings as those in which lived the families who rented rooms, were entirely unfit for occupation by many families.

The average price paid for renting one room was \$163.26 per year, only \$6.05 less per year than the average cost, \$169.21, of renting a house of four rooms, while the average cost of renting two rooms, \$183.13 per year, was \$13.92 greater than the average cost of renting a four room house. And the average cost of renting three rooms, \$198 per year, was greater than the cost of renting either a four, five or six room house. It was cheaper, therefore, to rent a house, but houses were not to be had, so a room had to be taken at the price charged. The price for one room varied from \$2.50 to \$4.50 per week, the fifty cents usually being added for gas. The price for two or three rooms, while rising as high as \$6 or \$7 per week, often fell as low as \$2 or \$3 because of the poor condition of the rooms. In estimating the price that was charged for rooms, the proprietor seemed first to calculate what amount it was necessary to charge for each room rented, in order to obtain the rent of the house, and then to add fifty cents to one dollar on more favorably located rooms, such as the first or second floor front.

The cost of renting a two story brick house such as we have already described, varied from \$8.50 per month for a dwelling with a leaking roof, floor boards broken and plaster all but fallen, to \$26 per month for a dwelling equipped with modern improvements and kept in a habitable physical condition. The rent paid for three story houses ranged from \$17 to \$25 per month, but the condition of none of the houses that rented for these prices was such as to make them suitable for homes.

Forty-five of the one hundred families investigated, rented houses, and twenty-six of this number occupied their houses alone, without subletting or taking in lodgers. The percentage of families renting houses and the

percentage renting and occupying an entire house, were greater for each higher income group; while the percentage renting rooms decreased with each higher income group. Moreover, the average income of families renting houses was above that of families renting rooms. That is, the possibility of renting a house seemed to increase with an increase in income. It is also significant to point out that the number of rooms occupied per adult male unit increased with the increase in the size of the income group, and that until the income group was reached allowing \$1,671-\$1,970, less than one room per adult male unit was provided.

The percentage of families of various sizes that rented rooms or houses fluctuates so greatly that but one conclusion can be drawn: to wit, the size of the family had practically no influence on the question whether a house or a room should be secured. When one recalls the housing conditions of the period in which the study was made, it will become more apparent to him that even the number of persons to be provided for had nothing to do with the securing of a house. It depended upon opportunity plus the ability to pay the price that was charged. Thus we have seen that the families in the upper income groups, that were able to pay, secured houses and rooms in sufficient numbers to accommodate each adult male unit.

In regard to the number of rooms occupied per adult male unit in families of each size included in the investigation, we find that families consisting of more than four persons were housed with one or less than one adult male unit in each room, but families above this size show on the average eight-tenths to five-tenths of a room, for the same unit. Such congested housing existed in twenty-eight families, containing five, six, seven and nine persons. Furthermore, the average in-

come of families renting rooms was above \$1,500 but less than \$1,600. The incomes increased within these limits with each increase in the number of rooms rented. The average number of dollars and the average percentage of the total income spent on renting rooms increased with an increase in the number of rooms rented. The latter occurrence was also accompanied by an increase in the average income of families renting rooms.

Turning our attention to families that rented houses, we discover that their average income was above that of families renting rooms. The lowest average income for the group renting houses was \$1,620.75 and the highest \$5,564. The average income increased regularly between these two figures with each increase in the number of rooms in the house rented. The average number of dollars spent on rent fluctuated, tending toward an increase, while the percentage of the total income spent on rent also fluctuated, but tended toward a decrease with an increase in the size of the house rented and the accompanying increase in the average income of families renting houses of larger sizes.

Taking into consideration, however, the total expenditures on rent by all families, Tables 3 and 4 show that the amount of income spent on rent tended to increase, while the percentage of income devoted to this purpose tended to decrease with an increase in the income. On the other hand, both the number of dollars and the percentage of income spent on rent tended to increase with an increase in the size of the family.

#### *Fuel and Light*

The table in the column opposite, shows that coal and kerosene<sup>25</sup> were for

<sup>25</sup> Expenditures on fuel and light were obtained in three different ways. In the first place,

the most part bought in small quantities. Coal was secured by sixty families in buckets. The grocer kept a small size coal bucket in which he first measured the coal and from which he poured it into the purchaser's receptacle. The usual price for a bucket of coal was thirteen cents, or two buckets for twenty-five cents. Twenty families also reported purchases of kerosene by the quart. These were mostly families of the lower income groups who secured this item on credit. Only twenty-two families used gas for cooking or lighting. This was largely due to the fact that few of the houses had gas in them and also to the fact that many of the families were not accustomed to the use of gas. One family, number twenty-eight, used electric lights.

#### FUEL AND LIGHT PURCHASES

Number of families buying coal by the bucket: 60; ton or half ton: 40.

Number of families buying kerosene by the gallon: 64; quart: 20.

Number of families paying gas bill by the month: 14; with the rent each week: 8.

amounts and prices paid for coal and kerosene were obtained for forty-seven families from record books of credit purchases. Eighteen such records were secured for a period of six months and twenty-nine for a period varying from three to four months. The second manner of obtaining expenditures on fuel and light was by ascertaining from forty families, the number of tons of coal bought during the past year and the price paid for each. If gas was used, the bill for as many months as the housewife could produce or recall was asked for, or if a slot meter was used, the frequency with which quarters were deposited there-in. Some of the families buying coal by the ton procured kerosene from the grocer on credit, while others bought it from the distributing wagons of the Atlantic Refining Company. In all such cases an effort was made to determine the amount of kerosene consumed per week or per month and the cost of the same. Finally, the expenditures of thirteen families that bought heat and light producing products by cash payment from the corner grocer were estimated by asking the housewife the quantities bought at various times of the year and the prices paid.



The investigator found that the same reasons were given for buying coal, as for buying food, in small quantities. But, in considering coal, especially, the lack of storage facilities should be considered. When it is recalled that 55 per cent of the families rented rooms and that 73 per cent of this number rented one room, one will readily acknowledge that there was no place for a large number of the families to put a ton of coal. This point is further illustrated by comparing the number of rooms occupied by each family with the quantity of coal bought by the same family. From this data, we find that the percentage buying coal by the ton was greater among families renting houses. Since we have already seen that the income of families renting houses was greater than that of families renting rooms, it is not surprising to find that a larger percentage of the families in the upper income groups bought coal by the ton than in the lower income groups.

The average amount spent on fuel and light by families buying coal by the bucket was found to be \$79.86 per year, while the average amount spent by families buying coal by the ton, was \$73.77. Both of these averages are less than the allowance of \$84.23 given for fuel and light by the Bureau of Municipal Research study, and the allotment of \$93.64 in the "Suggested Budget" we have planned. Only twenty-six families reported expenditures on fuel and light equaling or exceeding the former amount, while but fourteen families spent as much as the latter standard.

The investigator felt that the small expenditure on fuel and light was due to the large number of families living in rooms with the consequent need for a reduced quantity of fuel and light products. Fifteen of the twenty-six families spending over \$84.23, or 58 per cent of this number, rented houses

containing four or more rooms, and had, therefore, not only occasion for the use of greater quantities of fuel and light products, but also better facilities for its storage than families renting rooms. To illustrate this point, further, it is significant to point out that but one of the twenty-six families spending over \$84.23 for fuel and light, lived in one room; while thirty-seven of the one hundred families included in this investigation lived in one room and spent less than \$84.23. This seems to show more conclusively that there was a relation between the amount spent on fuel and light and the number of rooms occupied by the family.

An examination of the expenditures on fuel and light by the families in each income group shows that the amount of income spent on these items increased irregularly, while the percentage of income devoted to such expenditures decreased with an increase in income. But neither the amount nor percentage of income spent on fuel and light products seems to bear any relation to the size of the family.

#### *Amusement*

All money spent in attending theatres, in taking excursion trips or for other forms of recreation was recorded under the head of amusement. Only twenty-one families reported expenditures for such purposes. The form of amusement enjoyed by twelve of this number were performances at moving picture houses or at Gibson's New Standard Theatre, a Negro vaudeville house; by seven, excursions to Woodside Park and Willow Grove; by two, sight seeing trips through the city.

The smallest amount expended on amusements during a period of one year by any one family, was \$5.20 for a day spent at Willow Grove Park by family seventeen; the largest amount was \$530.60 spent by family one hun-

dred, consisting of ten children, three of whom were self-supporting sons who went every week to Gibson's Theatre. The expenditures of these two families on amusements are both extremes, as the amount spent by the remaining families was neither as great nor as small, but fell between \$25 and \$65.

Only one of the twenty-one families devoting any part of their income to amusements, consisted of more than four persons.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the per cent of the total number of families in the various income groups making amusement expenditures, the average per cent of the income spent by the families making the expenditures, and the average per cent of income for all the families in income groups where any one family made expenditures for amusement, tended to increase with an increase in income.

This would seem to indicate that income limited indulgence in amusements, for, in general, only families of a small size and large income enjoyed them. But a study of the contributions to church of all the families included in this investigation will reveal the fact that the social life was not limited to the few who reported expenditures which we have listed under amusements, but that it was integrally connected with the activities of the church.

#### *Church*

Eighty-three of the one hundred families included in the investigation reported contributions to the church. We have previously noted that the average amount expended in this manner by families in the various income groups bore a relation to the income; i.e. it increased with an increase in the size of the income. Our next question is, what influence did the size of the family have on such expenditures? If we examine the average percentage

of income devoted to the church by families of various sizes, we shall find that the percentages fluctuated to such a degree that the only conclusion possible is that the size of the family had no influence on the amount of money contributed to the church. It appears, therefore, that irrespective of the size of either the family or the income, 83 per cent of the families included in the study financially supported the church, and that the size of the income alone influenced the contributions by limiting their amount.

These contributions included not only regular weekly dues, but also money spent by forty-eight families in attending socials, concerts, entertainments, clubs and classes of the church. It is interesting to note that while each of the eighty-three families, aiding in the support of the church, did not financially patronize its social activities yet all of them attended some of its weekly functions. These activities were supported in preference to the theatre, dance hall, or other types of public amusement for the following reasons: First, the churches attended by the majority of the migrants opposed such forms of recreation, a sentiment which restrained participation in them by many families. Second, the fact that the most attractive commercialized houses of amusement were operated by white persons caused the Negro to be reticent about seeking admission to them. In the South he was not generally accustomed to frequenting such places, as they were usually closed to Negroes. Moreover, in Philadelphia he was always uncertain as to when and where he would be refused admittance. So the new-comer found it more agreeable to go to church where he knew he was wanted. Third, a church social was more attractive. Here you met all your friends. It was part of the group habit to attend such

<sup>36</sup> See Table 4. Amusement Column.

affairs. Everybody went. You were the odd fellow if you stayed away. The church was the leader, therefore, of not only the spiritual but also the social life of the migrant.

#### *Insurance*

Only two of the one hundred families under consideration failed to insure some one member. The reason given by each of these families for not carrying insurance was that in the South they belonged to companies that did not do business in Philadelphia. Agents did not come, therefore, to collect premiums. The insured had neglected to send them to the company and had thereby let his insurance lapse and, until the time of our study, had failed to take out another policy. This leads us to say that migration to the North resulted in the lapsing of some insurance in nearly all of the families investigated. Only those families that held policies in companies with branch offices in Philadelphia had continued to keep up their insurance. It required too much time and care to send premiums out of the city. Besides, it involved some doubt in the mind of the insured as to whether he would secure payment in case of death after having moved to a more hazardous climate. The migrant seemed to realize that the risk was increased and preferred taking out a fresh policy in a company that was willing to undertake the new risk and also one that was near at hand, so that he could obtain immediate payment without litigation.

The kind of insurance was, with few exceptions, industrial, a type of insurance especially designed to meet the needs of the wage earning and industrial population. The premiums were payable weekly and were collected by an agent of the company who called at the house of the insured. The amounts of the premiums varied from five cents

for the children to fifty or sixty cents for the father. Often, however, older sons and daughters who had been given their insurance to keep up when they began working, had failed to do so, and on reinstating themselves had to pay rates nearly as high as those charged their parents. The face value of the industrial policies carried by members of the various families, varied, but none of them were over \$500; indeed, only six equaled this amount, while the rest were between \$150 and \$250. In addition to straight life industrial policies, members of thirty-two families carried policies with sick benefit clauses. These agreed to pay a definite sum per week for a limited number of weeks in case of certain specified causes for illness and a lump sum at death.

Lodges and sick benefit assessment societies maintained entirely by Negroes also provided a means of insurance. Either the mother, father, or both parents of forty-three families belonged to such associations. Their popularity was due principally to the social life afforded through weekly meetings which were largely attended. The payments to these organizations were small, varying from five to twenty-five cents a week, and the returns generally about fifty dollars at death and two dollars a week in case of illness.

Ten families contained at least one person carrying endowment insurance. Although one member at least of ninety-eight families was insured in some manner, few families had come to realize that life insurance had any other purpose than to provide burial funds and protection against loss of income from illness. The ten families that carried endowment insurance thought of it as a savings fund, not to pay off mortgages, or help to buy a home, or to educate the children, but as a means of amassing \$1,000 to spend at some

future date. Yet it is encouraging that 10 per cent of the families should have viewed insurance as a means of saving for other than burial purposes.

No relationship could be pointed out between the number of insured families and the amount of the income of these families, or between the number of insured families and the size of the family; for the per cent of insured families in various income groups and in groups of families of various sizes fluctuated so greatly. Neither could any relationship be shown between the average per cent of the income spent on insurance, the size of the family or the size of the income; here, also, the percentage fluctuated markedly. Inability to draw such conclusions is not surprising when one considers that the cost of insurance and the amount carried are individual matters depending largely upon the physical condition of the insured, and his opinion as to how much insurance is necessary to his protection.

#### *Furniture*

Expenditures on furniture and furnishings were made by fifty-eight families. The smallest amount spent for this purpose during one year by a single family was \$5, the largest amount, \$750. Between these two extremes there were annual expenditures by twenty families of more than \$5 but less than \$100; by thirty families, of more than \$100 but less than \$200; by three families, of more than \$200, but less than \$300; and by three other families, of more than \$300 but less than \$400.

The percentage of the total number of families in each income group that made purchases of furniture and furnishings increased irregularly with every increase in the size of the income group. Also, the average percentage of income spent by families in the various income

groups on these items increased irregularly with each higher income group. This seems to show that the percentage of income expended on furniture and furnishings increased with income as did also the percentage of the number of families making the expenditures.

It will be recalled that a similar relationship was found to exist between the percentage of the number of families renting houses and those renting a small number of rooms, and also between the percentage of the income spent by families renting houses as compared with that of families renting a small number of rooms. Thus we saw that a larger percentage of the families in the higher income groups were able to rent houses. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should find a greater percentage of the families in the same groups able to buy and buying furniture, also able to spend and spending a larger percentage of their incomes for these articles.

The reader may question the inference that the financial ability of a migrant to rent a house has any connection with his buying furniture. The circumstances in this case, however, seem to warrant such a conclusion. Not one of the families we are considering was able to ship furniture from the South at the time of its departure, because of the war embargo on the shipping of such articles. A man had to consider, therefore, when renting a house, whether he was able to buy furniture to put in it. It is apparent, since furniture had to be purchased by all the families not renting furnished rooms, that many of them would not have money to pay for it in cash. We find, therefore, that thirty-seven families were securing furniture by means of the credit system. They usually paid \$2 a week. Thus we find twenty-five families reporting \$104 per year spent on furniture.



### *Medical Aid*

All money spent for medical, dental, ocular and pharmaceutical purposes was listed under the caption, health. Forty-five families reported such expenditures. The smallest amount spent by one family during a period of one year was \$2 while the largest amount was \$175. Twenty-two families spent for this purpose under \$50; thirteen, over \$50 but under \$100; eight, over the latter amount but under \$150 and two over \$150 but under \$200.

Neither the percentage of families in the various income groups spending money on health, nor the average percentage of the income expended for the purpose by all the families in the different income groups showed any definite relation to the income. The same percentage of families in the lowest as in the highest income group reported health expenditures. The percentage of income spent on the average by the families in the various income groups for health, fluctuated to such an extent that no conclusions as to the effect of the one on the other could be drawn. As an explanation of the irregular tendencies in health expenditures, the investigator would say that the sudden change in climate made medical attention necessary for members of families in every income group. It was not left as a matter of individual choice, to be exercised by only the richer families, but became an urgent demand of many families all along the income scale.

Only two families reported free medical aid. These were families number thirty-seven and sixty-one, from which persons had gone to the free clinics of Douglass Hospital.

### *Carfare*

Expenditures on carfare depended largely upon the distance from home

of the place of work or of the church attended. They bore no relation to the income<sup>27</sup> but rather to the number of persons working or attending church at some distance. Seventy-six families reported such expenditures, the minimum for which was \$31 and the maximum \$150, spent per annum by one family. Between these two extremes there were annual outlays for carfare by fifty-two families of more than \$31 but less than \$50; by thirteen families, of more than \$50 but less than \$75; by thirteen families, of more than \$75 but less than \$100, and by six families of more than \$100 but less than \$150.

### *Alcohol*

This study was made after the passage of the Federal Prohibition Law. Nevertheless the investigator sought to ascertain expenditures on alcoholic drinks. Only ten families reported such purchases. Five of this number bought beer for their meals and said that it cost two dollars per week, or \$104 annually per family. Four other families each spent less than \$100 per year in this manner. Their purchases consisted of drinks bought away from home by the men. The outlay in one family of \$156 was to provide a stock of liquor for future purposes. The members of the family are not to be classed as drinkers, as the amount spent during one year would seem to indicate. But, they liked wine at Christmas and other occasions of celebration and so secured a store of it. The average percentage of income expended on alcohol by families in the various income groups tended to increase with an increase in the size of the income group.

<sup>27</sup> See Table 3. Note that the average percentage of incomes spent on carfare by families in various income groups fluctuated so remarkably that no conclusion could be drawn as to their relationship to the size of the income.

*Tobacco*

Sixty families reported expenditure on tobacco. The smallest amount spent by one family during a year was \$10, the largest amount, \$182. The purchases of forty families amounted to less than \$50, while those of sixteen families were more than \$50 but less than \$100, and those of but four families over \$100. The percentage of families, in the various income groups, that spent money on tobacco increased irregularly with an increase in the size of the income group, as did also the percentage of income spent on the average by all the families in each income group, for this purpose.

*Miscellaneous*

In addition to the previously discussed expenditures on sundries, there were three items, tailoring, telephone and reading matter, which we have classified as miscellaneous, since money was spent on them by only four families. The amounts paid for the services of these articles by three families were under \$50 and by one family, exactly \$200.

*Savings, Loans and Gifts*

Savings of some nature were reported by sixty families. Money was sent South to dependent relatives by thirty-eight families, while loans to friends or relatives were made by ten families. And money was paid in the settlement of debts by twenty-eight families.

The reader should be cautioned, however, against considering money spent for any one of these purposes as an indication that the standard of living was above or below the subsistence level. Such expenditures were made because of pressure of debts, poverty stricken relatives, friends in greater distress than one's self, or the acquisitive instinct. It is interesting to point

out, nevertheless, that the percentage of families in the various income groups having a margin above family expenditures to apply in the ways already stated, increased with each higher income group but decreased with an increase in the size of the family.

As has already been stated, sixty families saved some part of their incomes, either by putting money in the bank, in church thrift clubs, by hoarding it at home, or by investing it in Liberty Bonds, War Savings Stamps, Building and Loan Associations or in property. The number of families adopting any one or more of these means is shown below.

<i>How Money Was Saved</i>	<i>Number of Families</i>
War Savings Stamps and Liberty Bonds.....	27
Bank.....	37
Money Kept at Home.....	12
Invested in Property.....	5
Paid in Building and Loan.....	4
Paid in Church Thrift Clubs.....	2

The actual number of dollars saved per family fell between \$8 and \$981. The amounts falling between these two extremes can best be shown as follows:

<i>Number of Dollars That Were Saved</i>	<i>Number of Families</i>	<i>Per Cent of Families</i>
Less than \$100.....	18	.30
100-199.....	10	.16
200-299.....	11	.18
300-399.....	7	.15
400-499.....	2	.03
500-599.....	3	.05
600-699.....	3	.05
700-799.....	3	.05
800-899.....	1	.02
Over-900.....	2	.03

We find that the average number of dollars invested in the ways above

mentioned and the average percentage of income saved, as well as the percentage of families that made the savings, tended to increase with an increase in the size of the income but to decrease with an increase in the size of the family. Moreover, the average per capita income tended to decrease with an increase in the size of the family. The fact, however, that in groups of families of every size and in each income group, some family reported savings, shows an inclination to preserve a part of the income. But, the tendencies we have just pointed out show that it became increasingly difficult to save, as the family increased in size or the income decreased.

#### *Deficit*

In recording amounts spent on the various items in the budget of a family, we have given figures which represent the cost of the amount consumed, deducing in the deficit column the number of dollars due on these articles. Thus the word deficit has been used to show the debt of a family after the income had been exhausted. It includes grocery bills for food, consumed but not paid for, by fifteen families; clothing bills for garments, worn but not paid for, by twelve families; furniture bills for furniture, used but not paid for, by eight families; rent due for one family; borrowed money spent by four families for items recorded in their budgets; and in some families, the consumption of items unaccounted for and exceeding the income by not more than \$11.

Nineteen families reported deficits. These families all fell within the first three income groups, and their distribution showed a smaller number of deficit families as the size of the income increased. On the other hand, the percentage of deficit families increased with an increase in the size of the family.

The average percentage of income represented by the deficit decreased with an increase in the income of the families in the various income groups, but increased for each group of families of a larger size. Such relationships between the deficit of a family and its size or income are the converse of those we found to exist among families with savings. This leads us to say that families of a small size or with a large income were better able to stay out of debt than those of a large size or with a small income.

#### *Summary*

Eighty-one per cent of the families investigated bought food by credit purchases and mostly in small quantities. Of the remaining families, nineteen made large scale retail purchases and nine small quantity cash purchases. The assortment of foods bought showed, in the majority of cases, a somewhat greater variety than that suggested in the fair standard of living budget prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia.<sup>33</sup> Taking the cost of food determined per adult male unit per week by that study as a standard, and comparing it with the cost for the same unit to the families investigated, we find 25 per cent of the families were underfed. Moreover, the distribution of these families indicates that the probability of a family's being underfed increased with the size of the family but decreased with an increase in the size of the income. Making like use of the clothing standard set by the same study, we see that families consisting of more than three persons were on the average underclothed, as were also families with an income of less than \$1,670-\$1,970. The purchases of clothing were, with the exception of

<sup>33</sup> Beyer-Davis-Twing, "Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia." New York, 1919, p. 53.

twelve families, made by cash payment. Gifts of clothing were equally unusual. The houses occupied by the families were, with four exceptions, in an exceedingly poor physical condition. The most critical housing problem appeared, however, in single dwellings of twelve and fourteen rooms sublet to as many as sixteen different families or individuals. Only 26 per cent of the families occupied singly an entire house. Their distribution shows that the occupying solely by one family of a dwelling depended upon a large income rather than a large size family. Moreover, the latter were overcrowded to a degree not experienced by families with high incomes. Purchases of coal and light producing products were most frequently made in small quantities, *e.g.*, coal by the bucket, kerosene by the quart. Especially is this true of families living in rooms; whose purses limited the extent of lodging procured, which in turn restricted the facilities for the storing of fuel.

Turning to expenditures made on the sundry items, it appears that the amount spent on amusement was extremely limited in all families. But, we discover that the contributions to churches included money paid at church socials, which were more frequently patronized than commercial houses of amusement. Insurance was carried by one or more persons in ninety-eight per cent of the families. With the exception of endowment insurance carried by at least one member of ten families, industrial insurance was the universal type; its sole purpose being to provide a burial fund. The fact that many families were forced to leave their furniture in the South, due principally to the cost of carriage or war embargoes on freight, accounts for 58 per cent of the families' spending money on this item. Of this number, thirty-seven made their purchases by means

of weekly payments. Money was spent for various medical purposes by forty-seven families. The amounts so expended show no relation to either the size of the family or income. Their irregularity seems to indicate that a change in climatic conditions made medical attention a necessity rather than a choice to be exercised by families of financial means. Carfare expenditures were related to the distance of the place of work or church from the home and showed no relation to either the income nor the size of the family. Ten families reported expenditures on alcoholic drinks, varying in amount from \$36.50 to \$156 per annum. Purchases of tobacco were made in a considerably larger number of families, sixty in all. The smallest amount spent, annually by one family in this way was \$10, the largest \$182. Finally, miscellaneous items consisting of the services of tailors, telephones, and reading matter were reported by four families. The expenditures of families did not, however, always equal or balance with the incomes so that eighteen families show a deficit and eighty-two a surplus. Sixty of the latter number made annual savings varying in amount from \$8 to \$981.55.

A further resumé of the relation of income to expenditures would prove helpful in elucidating the expenditure tendencies found to operate within the group. The question, however, that arises in our minds is, how do the expenditure tendencies of this group compare with those of other groups? For purposes of comparison, therefore, we shall list the expenditure tendencies of our group beside those reported by the War Labor Bureau<sup>39</sup> for families it investigated in twenty-two shipping districts during the year

<sup>39</sup> *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C., May, 1919, p. 148.



1918-1919, and Engel's laws of expenditure. We find:

1. *As the income increased, the percentage spent on food decreased.*

Engel and the War Labor Bureau Study report the same.

2. *As the income increased, the percentage spent on clothing remained approximately the same.*

Engel: "As the income increases the percentage spent on clothing remains the same."

The War Labor Bureau: "As the income increases, the percentage spent on clothing increases."

3. *As the income increased, the percentage spent on rent, fuel and light decreased.*

Engel: "Whatever the income the percentage spent on lodging or

rent and for fuel and light is invariably the same."

The War Labor Bureau: "As the income increased, the percentage spent on rent, fuel and light decreased."

4. *As the income increased, the percentage spent on sundries increased.*

Engel and the War Labor Bureau Study report the same. Thus we see that the expenditure tendencies of the group, under consideration, were not only sufficiently regular to be stated in the form of definite tendencies, but also that the tendencies either agree substantially with Engel's historic laws of expenditures, or, where they fail to do so, coincide with the more recent findings of the War Labor Bureau.

## CHAPTER V

### A SUGGESTED BUDGET<sup>40</sup>

Before we can determine conclusions concerning the standard of living maintained by the families whose budgets have just been analyzed, it is necessary to determine what constitutes a fair standard of living for the group under consideration. It is desirable to base budget allowances upon objective standards. But many of the sundry items which must be included in a budget do not lend themselves to concrete measurement. Upon what basis can one estimate the cost of carfare

<sup>40</sup> The "Suggested Budget" has been planned for a family of five, consisting of a father, a mother, a boy of thirteen, a girl of ten, a boy of six, during the year 1918-1919. Definite ages and sexes had to be assigned to the members of the assumed family, in order to determine the cost of an actual budget, for the consumption of individuals varies with their age and sex. The period of time, as well as the age and sex, used here, are those selected by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia; since part of their study was adopted in the "Suggested Budget."

when Mr. B. lives two squares from his place of employment and Mr. A., twenty miles from the same factory? The amount that the members of a group of families found it necessary to spend on carfare is the only guide that we can follow for this item of expenditure. The criticism may be advanced that such a procedure involves circular reasoning, as the proposed standard is based upon a standard actually maintained. A standard of living must, however, be considered in the light of the group to which it is to apply. The habits of this group should be the guide. For a standard, principally controlled by "what ought to be," is limited by "what is," since it will never be adopted by any families unless it permits an exercise of their fundamental characteristics and tendencies. For example, if the families we have been studying spent recreational money in

the church and not in the theatre, a proposed standard of living for the group must make a similar allowance for the church. A practicable standard of living, while providing the physical necessities as determined by objective standards, should, nevertheless, make its allowances conform fairly close to the practice of the group under consideration.<sup>41</sup>

The budget which we have planned is, therefore, not an ideal estimate for a particular family, but, rather, it is an attempt to combine those items for which the families investigated actually spent their incomes, in such proportions as to make it possible for a family of five to obtain a standard of living which will meet not only the desires of an average family, but also the demands of physical requirements for the maintenance of the body in health and a fair degree of comfort. Perhaps the budget of not one family in the group studied will compare exactly with this we have set up, since, in order to obtain a standard which would fit the group as a whole, we have included all the items<sup>42</sup> for which any one family spent money. Moreover, the "Suggested Budget" has not been limited to food, shelter, clothing, warmth, but has been extended to include all the sundry items which the families worked equally hard to obtain and which they considered quite as necessary. The quantities of these and all other items included in the budget have been determined by balancing the number of physical units, necessary for the maintenance in health and ordinary comfort

of five individuals of the ages specified, with the number of units consumed by the families investigated, in order to make the suggested standard meet both group tendencies and physical requirements. The quantities thus determined have been expressed in monetary terms by multiplying them by their market price in November, 1919.

### Food

We have adopted as a fair allowance for food, the cost of the food requirements established for a family of five, by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia.<sup>43</sup> This standard was based upon the scientific requirements of a workingman's family consisting of five persons and the records of the food consumed by 261 families.

Scientific analysis demands an equal number of calories for any race of people living in the same climate and carrying on work of a similar nature.<sup>44</sup> Various groups of families may, however, obtain the same number of calories from different kinds of food, which sell at a lower or higher price. The cost of one standard may not, therefore, apply to all groups. We have already made a comparison of the food purchased by the families included in this study and the items of food suggested by the Bureau of Municipal Research, and seen that there was substantially no difference between the kind of food suggested by the one and consumed by the other. The diet provided by the municipal study is, therefore, sufficiently similar to that secured by the Negro families to be adapted to them. Although the kind of food consumed by the group under consideration may be identical with that which is recommended, if the

<sup>41</sup> Wm. F. Ogburne, *The Measurement of the Cost of Living Wages. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, January, 1919, p. 118.

<sup>42</sup> Alcohol was not included in the "Suggested Budget," although it was found in some of the family budgets. Its sale is now illegal and we presume that it cannot be bought. Furthermore, we do not advocate its use.

<sup>43</sup> Beyer-Davis-Thwing, "Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia." New York, 1919.

<sup>44</sup> Bulletin 46, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

quantity consumed is not approximately the same, the cost of the municipal standard will not accurately measure the food consumption of our group. As stated in discussing food, the only way we could judge of the quantity of food consumed was by the price paid for it.

Since this study and that of the Bureau of Municipal Research both apply to the same city and the same period of time, it would seem that knowing the kind of food purchased, by the families under consideration, was similar to that contained in the standard we propose to adopt, we could judge how near the quantity set by the municipal standard was met by the Negro families, by comparing the amount of money they spent for food per adult male unit with the cost of this unit as set by the Bureau of Municipal Research. Sixty-five per cent of the families included in the investigation spent not more than one dollar over the amount, \$3.71, nor under ten cents of this amount, which is the calculated cost of food per week for an adult male unit, as established by the municipal budget. Judging the quantity of food consumed by the Negro families by the proximity of the expenditure of so large a percentage of the families to the established cost, it would seem that the municipal standard accurately represents the food consumed by the majority of the families.

A further reason for adopting the Bureau of Municipal Research food requirements to the Negro group is that the records of food consumption upon which it is based contained reports from Negro families: so that any standard derived therefrom must be applicable to them, as well as to all other races included in their investigation. And we have seen that this standard, based on the food consumption of 261 families, (including Negro families) and on the number of calories

necessary to maintain a family of five in health and comfort, is particularly applicable to the group of families under consideration, since the kind and quantity of food they consumed is substantially similar to that proposed by the Bureau of Municipal Research. We shall, therefore, adopt in the "Suggested Budget," the requirements and cost of food as outlined by the bureau standard allowing, as they did, \$674.30 for this item.

#### *Clothing*

In order to obtain a fair allowance for clothing, the Bureau of Municipal Research, on the basis of the results from the investigation of 261 families, made "a separate tabulation for each specific kind of article worn annually and its cost, and for the aggregate, the average number of articles worn annually." Affixing the market price to the average quantities of clothing worn by each member of the family, they were able to determine the annual cost of clothing to a family of the size already described. When we compare the expenditures made by the Negro families per adult male unit with the allowance of \$98.75, estimated for the same unit by the municipal study, we find that 57 per cent of the migrant families spent this amount or not more than \$3 over it, while 37 per cent spent an amount less than \$27 below it and only 6 per cent spent an amount \$40 below it. The proximity of the municipal allowance to the actual expenditures of the families in the migrant group led us to adopt it as a standard for the cost of their clothing.

Then, too, when discussing fair requirements for clothing, a single standard is applicable to all people in the same industrial group, living in the same climate and subject to the same customs of dress. The investigation by the Bureau of Municipal Research

concerns itself only with workingmen's families, to which the group included in this investigation belongs. Furthermore, the Negroes are not a people of foreign culture, but are Americans, and naturally adapt themselves to the customs of dress of this country. Italian women may go out without hats; Chinese men may wear slippers, but the American Negro wears the same kind of clothing as the white American. Moreover, it requires on the average, the same number of pairs of shoes, stockings, and other garments worn by Americans to clothe Mr. X as Mr. Y no matter to what race he belongs. The cost of clothing of Negro migrant families may, therefore, be judged from the cost as established in the Bureau standard, since the latter applies to American workingmen's families in Philadelphia, of which the Negroes are an integral part. In addition, the standard adopted was especially made to fit clothing requirements of a Negro family since the facts upon which it was based included reports from such families.

For these reasons we feel justified in adopting the cost of clothing, determined by the Bureau of Municipal Research as \$346.63, as an allowance for the clothing of Negro migrant families in the "Suggested Budget."

#### *Housing*

For a family of five, a two story brick house, facing on the street, containing six rooms, provided with a bathroom (fitted with a tub, wash stand and toilet), gas for lighting and cooking purposes, a furnace and laundry, is suggested. Houses of this description were, however, scarce: First, because the total number of houses available for Negroes was limited, since only houses in certain districts were rented or sold to them. There is always a certain number of desirable houses in

any one district. When you limit the territory in which people may live, this automatically further restricts the supply of dwellings of any one type. Second, although a few new neighborhoods were opened to colored people after the migration, these by no means met the demand. The Negro population of Philadelphia was increased without an equal increase in housing, which meant an even greater decrease in the chances of a family to obtain a desirable house.

As a result, few of the families included in the study, could secure dwellings such as we have advocated for the "Suggested Budget," and none for less than \$25 a month. Although few families investigated were able to obtain such houses, we feel that an allowance should be made which would permit the renting or buying of a similar dwelling and the possibility of their doing so should be taken up elsewhere in our study. An allowance of \$25 a month or \$300 a year is, therefore, recommended for rent in the "Suggested Budget."

#### *Fuel and Light*

The cost of fuel and light for a family of five, living in a six room house such as has already been described, can be determined by ascertaining the quantity of these products which is necessary to heat any such building. The United States Fuel Administration, after careful experimentation, concluded that six tons of coal a year were required to heat a six room house. Upon this estimate we shall base the coal allowance in the "Suggested Budget." The Bureau of Municipal Research measured the cubic feet of gas consumed by families. It investigated and ascertained the quantity required for lighting and cooking purposes. In adopting this estimate for gas and that of the Fuel Administration for coal, we



are assuming that when the standards for such items are set, they are applicable to all groups living in the same climate and under similar social conditions; moreover, that it takes a like quantity of coal and gas to heat and light any six room house. For these reasons, using the prices of November, 1919, we have made allowances in the "Suggested Budget" for coal and gas on the basis of the quantities determined necessary for heating and lighting a six room house by the United States Fuel Administration and the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia. One box of matches was the most frequent and the average quantity purchased by the families investigated, and has, therefore, been inserted in the "Suggested Budget." No allowance has been made for wood, for if fires are properly banked, they need not be built afresh all winter. Moreover, the allowances for coal and gas are so liberal that their advocates hold that wood and other fuel substitutes are dispensable, since an adequate supply of the more staple supplies is provided.

The cost of obtaining the above mentioned quantities of fuel and light products according to the prices of November, 1919 was as follows:

<i>Article</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Price Per Unit</i>	<i>Annual Quantity</i>	<i>Annual Cost</i>
Coal, pea...	ton	\$9.95	3	\$29.85
Coal, stove	ton	12.30	3	36.90
Gas . . .	1000 cu.ft.	1.00	26	26.00
Matches.	box of 500	.05	52	2.60
Total . . .				\$95.35

#### *Amusement and Recreation*

Amusement is one of the most important items in a family budget. Wholesome laughter is as necessary to

the maintenance of the body in health and efficiency as staple food and clothing. But amusement is entirely subjective. It does not lend itself to objective measurement. Ten cents may amuse Mr. Plain for an entire evening, while ten dollars will amuse Mr. Fancy for only one hour. The twenty-one families that patronized houses of amusement may not have got any more recreation and fun out of life than the seventy-nine families that stayed at home or went to church socials.

Nevertheless, some allowance for recreation should be made in a budget which is proposed as a standard and which would be considered fair by the majority of the group to whom it is to apply. We have set aside \$26 for this purpose, since approximately this amount was spent by those families who obtained a fair degree of recreational activity. Such families attended moving picture performances about once every two weeks, or in the warm weather made excursions to amusement parks. They thereby obtained sufficient recreation to keep their spirits buoyant, their bodies healthy, and their minds acquainted with this phase of life.

#### *Church*

As has been already noted, 83 per cent of the families included in the study made contributions to church. A fair standard of living for the group must make provision for this item. It is difficult, however, to determine an objective test for church contributions. While the church may set the amount necessary for members to contribute in order that its work may be perpetuated, the parishioners may make various responses to these demands. It appears to us that the best test of a fair allowance for this object of expenditure is the contributions of those families whose donations meet the desires of the church and the indi-

viduals making them, without unduly burdening the latter. We found that families spending annually about \$30 for this purpose could keep up their dues and at the same time attend a weekly entertainment at the church. We have adopted, therefore, as a fair allowance for the church in the "Suggested Budget," \$31.20, or a weekly contribution by the father of 25¢; by the mother of 20¢; by each of the children 5¢.

#### *Insurance and Savings*

Since 98 per cent of the families, upon whose budgets the study is based, carried some kind of insurance on one or more of the members of their families, we can without hesitancy, introduce this item into the "Suggested Budget." It would be impossible, however, to name the particular kind of insurance that should be bought, for the type of insurance demanded varies with individual circumstances. Nevertheless, an allowance of \$93.64 should be made to secure the purchase by the father and mother of some high grade form of life insurance. If the policies were taken out by these persons between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-six years, either a large face whole life, or a somewhat smaller twenty payment life, or a still more reduced twenty year endowment insurance, as well as a sickness and health insurance could be obtained for the cost above mentioned. We shall, therefore, make an allowance in the "Suggested Budget" of \$93.64 for life insurance.

#### *Furniture and Furnishings*

The reader will recall that the families for whom the standard is being set had no furniture when they came to Philadelphia. We shall therefore have to provide an allowance sufficiently large to permit the families to secure furniture for a house of the

size described under the caption *Rent*. To judge the cost of this, one cannot find a better basis than the actual expenditures of families that equipped such houses in a comfortable fashion. Since these families spent \$104 annually, we have allotted this amount as a fair provision for furniture and furnishings in the "Suggested Budget."

#### *Medical Aid*

In view of the fact that provision has already been made for health and accident insurance, we feel that \$50 is a sufficient amount to set aside for medical aid. The basis of this judgment is the fact that the Health Insurance Commission of Pennsylvania<sup>45</sup> found that "families of wage earners in industrial cities spent from \$30 to \$50 a year for health, in addition to receiving gratuitous care in public and private hospitals." Moreover, the average amount spent on health by 365 families to which the Philadelphia Visiting Nurse Society was called in July, 1918, was \$47.<sup>46</sup> Besides, in the group we studied, \$50 was both the modal and median, while \$61.74 was the average expenditure for this item. It would seem, therefore, that \$50 represents a fair standard for medical aid, since it closely approximates the actual cost of illness to the families under consideration, and the expenditure for the same purpose by workingmen in industrial cities.

#### *Carfare*

A regular allowance for carfare must be provided in a budget which will be considered fair by the majority of the group to whom it is to apply, for that

<sup>45</sup> Report of the Health Insurance Commission of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, January, 1919, p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> Karl de Schweinitz, "Sickness as a Factor in Poverty," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, Chicago, 1920. p. 157.

part of the city in which the families lived may not be within walking distance of the large industrial plants by which most of the wage earners are employed. Again, however, we meet the difficulty of determining an allowance which does not submit itself entirely to objective measurement. While the distance of the place of employment may set a concrete basis for estimating the cost of carfare, yet it is limited by subjective conditions. A frugal man may rise early, walk a few squares and thereby save buying an exchange ticket, which costs three cents in addition to the five cent initial carfare charge. For that reason, carfare allowances should bear some relation to the expenditures of the group to whom they refer, since they alone measure the distances individuals have to ride, or feel it necessary to, and will, therefore, ride.

If we provide for one wage earner ten cents a day for three hundred working days, or \$30, plus \$9 for the purchase of one exchange ticket each working day, and add \$7.86 for carfare for the rest of the family, we shall have a total expenditure for carfare of \$46.86. Comparing this amount with the average expenditure of \$45.79 made by all the families included in the study and also with the average expenditure of \$48.41 made by fifteen of the families that maintained a fair standard of living, we shall find that it not only provides an amount sufficient to meet the objective demands of a family (*i.e.* daily carfare of the principal wage earner and carfare for the family), but also approaches the sum that families found it necessary to spend for this purpose.

#### *Tobacco*

A standard of living to be considered fair must include all objects for which members of the group to whom it ap-

plies spend money. With 60 per cent of the families investigated spending money on tobacco, it becomes necessary to make some allowance in the "Suggested Budget" for this item. While an excessive allowance should not be included in a proposed budget, the provision which is made should conform fairly closely to the actual expenditures of the families. For that reason we have provided ten cents per day, or \$36.50 per year, for tobacco. This amount would secure a moderate supply of tobacco but enough to satisfy the majority of the smokers in the group, since forty-three per cent of them expended this amount.

#### *Miscellaneous*

Miscellaneous expenditures, including money spent for the tailor, telephone, or reading matter, were reported by three families. But unaccounted for expenditures not exceeding \$25 are listed for 97 per cent of the families investigated. It would seem, therefore, that some provision should be made for the miscellaneous expenditures in all families. We shall allow for this purpose in the "Suggested Budget," \$25, which is the extreme amount reported in the unaccounted for surplus, and, hence, a fair estimate of the miscellaneous expenditures of the group.

In order that the head of a Negro migrant family, consisting of five persons, two parents, a boy of thirteen, a girl of ten, and a boy of six, may secure for his family a fair standard of living, as outlined in the study, he must earn \$1,829.48 per year, or \$6.10 per day for 300 working days. This amount has been determined by examining the physical requirements, as far as they could be ascertained, for maintaining a family of the above described size in health and a fair degree of comfort. That it correctly represents the cost

## SUMMARY OF THE COST OF A SUGGESTED BUDGET

<i>Item</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Food .....	\$674.30	36.86
Clothing .....	346.63	18.95
Rent .....	300.00	16.39
Fuel and Light .....	95.35	5.22
Amusement .....	26.00	1.43
Church .....	31.20	1.71
Insurance .....	93.64	5.12
Furniture .....	104.00	5.68
Medical Aid .....	50.00	2.73
Carfare .....	46.86	2.56
Tobacco .....	36.50	1.99
Miscellaneous .....	25.00	1.36
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,829.48</b>	<b>100.00</b>

of a fair standard of living to the group for whom it is especially prepared, can be shown by noting the deficiencies in the standards of the majority of the families in the income groups below that including \$1,829.48.

According to the grouping of income adopted in this study, there are three income groups below that including \$1,829.48. Two-thirds of the families in the first of these groups (\$767-\$1,067), one-third of the families in the second (\$1,068-\$1,368), one-fourth of the families in the third (\$1,369-\$1,669) and less than one-tenth of the families in the fourth (\$1,669-\$1,970), which contains the required income for a family of five, were underfed. In addition, we found that families with an income of less than \$1,670-\$1,970 were underclothed, and that until this income group was reached, less than

one room per adult male unit was provided and that coal was bought by the bucket by over two-thirds of such families. Moreover, the smallest expenditures by the smallest percentage of families making such expenditures, on amusements, furniture, contributions to church, and savings were reported by families falling in income groups below that including \$1,829.48. The large expenditure on insurance by all the families in the income groups below this figure was probably due to insufficient income to provide any other means of protection. Such deficiencies in the standards of families with incomes of a less amount than we have specified, seem to point to the correctness of the conclusion that \$1,829.48 is necessary for a Negro family of the size mentioned to maintain a fair standard of living.

## CHAPTER VI

## CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE FAMILIES STUDIED AND THE MIGRATION TO PHILADELPHIA

Now that the budgets of the families under consideration have been analyzed and a fair standard of living for the group set up, we are ready to compare

the incomes and expenditures of the families investigated with those required by the "Suggested Budget," for the purpose of determining to what



extent the migrant families upon whose budgets the study is based were able to secure a fair standard of living.

Since the families vary in size, we cannot compare their incomes until all the families have been placed on the same scale. We have previously noted<sup>47</sup> that there are no weights by means of which the consumption of all articles by families can be compared, but those based on food consumption; which are probably as accurate as any that are devisable. Making use of such weights prepared by the United States Bureau of Labor, and based on food consumption alone, we have reduced each family to its equivalent adult male units. This procedure has made it possible for us to compare the income, \$1,829.48, required by a family of five or, 3.95 adult male units, with that necessary for a family of any other size.<sup>48</sup>

As a result of this process we find that in 64 per cent of the families investigated, the incomes from all sources were sufficient to maintain a fair standard of living, as described in the study; but that in only 41 per cent of the families was the income of the father alone large enough to secure

such a standard of living. Moreover, when the sixty-four families with incomes that will provide a fair standard of living are grouped according to the number of persons in each family, the percentage of families in each group decreases as the size of the family increases.

Number of Persons in Family	Total Number of Families	Families with In- comes Sufficient to Provide a Fair Standard of Living	
		Number	Per cent
2	28	28	100
3	29	22	76
4	15	9	60
5	14	3	21
6	7	1	14
7	5	0	0
9	1	0	0
12	1	1	100
Total . . . . .	100	64	64

Thus we see that the wage earners of about two-thirds of the families included in the study were able to enter the various fields of work afforded by an industrial city and to obtain incomes that were sufficient to provide a fair standard of living for their families and that in nearly one-half of the families the chief bread winner alone was able to secure such an income. When we recall that these families came chiefly from the agricultural districts of southern towns and counties it becomes apparent that the procuring of a fair living wage under an industrial régime by so large a proportion is of particular significance.

But were the families with whom we are concerned able not only to secure a fair income but also to expend it so as to obtain a standard of living which is considered fair for a migrant workingman's family in Philadelphia? To

<sup>47</sup> See pages 193-4.

<sup>48</sup> To illustrate: Family 94 contains seven persons, two parents, three sons, ages 9, 3, 1, respectively, two daughters, ages 7, 5, respectively, or 4.10 adult male units, according to the United States Bureau of Labor weights. The income this family should have in order to maintain a fair standard of living (this income is represented by X) is to 4.10, the number of adult male units which is equivalent to seven persons of the ages mentioned, as \$1,829.48, the income required for a family of five to obtain a fair standard of living, is to 3.95, the number of equivalent adult male units in a family of the size upon which the "Suggested Budget" is planned. That is  $X:4.10::\$1,829.48:3.95$   
 $X = \$1,898.70$ .

The income required to maintain a fair standard of living for this family is \$1,898.70, while their actual income from all sources was \$1,040.

answer this question we must ascertain to what extent the budget we have proposed was maintained by the families under discussion. It has already been pointed out that the "Suggested Budget" is not expected to meet exactly the expenditure of any one family, but rather to express group tendencies. Nevertheless, it will prove helpful to determine how many families approached the standard set for the whole group.

Since the expenditures on food and clothing have already been measured according to the number of adult male units for which they provided, we can readily determine how many families meet the requirements set for these items, which cover 55.81 per cent of the total suggested allowances. Fifty-eight families spent almost exactly the amount set down for food, while twenty-eight spent only three dollars over this amount, and but twenty-five were underfed. In regard to clothing, the reports show that 57 per cent of the families equalled or exceeded these provisions by not over \$3; while 37 per cent of the families fell short of the required expenditure for this purpose by less than \$27 and only 6 per cent by \$40. This would seem to indicate that over 50 per cent of the families, with whom we are concerned, fulfilled both the food and clothing requirements in the "Suggested Budget."

Less than 15 per cent of the families investigated, however, spent the amount specified for rent or fuel and light. A still smaller percentage obtained the type of house advocated. The cause for so great a deficiency in these matters will be discussed later.

Similarly, we notice that amusement and insurance were not so well supported as the "Suggested Budget" indicates they should have been. But, it will be seen that the causes for more families not enjoying recreation and

taking out the proper kinds of insurance policies were not wholly due to the migrant's negligence. Failure to reach the insurance requirement was compensated, nevertheless, by other kinds of saving; which in sixty families equalled or exceeded the amount designated for the cost of insurance in the "Suggested Budget."

We deem it sufficient to state concerning the remaining sundry items, that the expenditures on them by at least 60 per cent of the migrant families approximated closely the allotment made in the proposed budget.

It would seem, therefore, that over 50 per cent of the families whose budgets are included in this discussion, met all the provisions of the "Suggested Budget," with the exceptions of insurance, recreation, housing and consequently fuel and light. Since a general deficiency is noted in these lines, an external cause must be sought; this will be discussed later. Furthermore, although the incomes of only 64 per cent of the families referred to were sufficient to secure them a fair standard of living, nevertheless, such a standard was obtained by from 50 to 60 per cent of the families, or by from 78 per cent to 93 per cent of those families whose incomes made its procuring possible.

Now can we, from a knowledge of these facts and those previously presented, derive any conclusions regarding the entire migratory movement to Philadelphia? Although the study is limited in scope we feel that there are a few facts, concerning the migration to that city, which with a degree of certainty, can be deduced from the investigation.

(1) Although the migrant families, whose budgets we have analyzed, showed a marked ability to obtain a fair standard of living, it is not to be concluded that their presence in Phila-

Philadelphia was entirely satisfactory and desirable to the citizens of that city. A standard of living tells some of the truth, but it does not tell all. Quantities of goods can be purchased by the man who will work for them. But culture and education are bred after years, yes sometimes, generations of toil. With few exceptions the migrants were untrained, often illiterate, and generally void of culture. On the other hand, there stood thousands of the native Negro population of Philadelphia, who had attained a high economic, intellectual and moral status. They found suddenly thrown into their midst about forty thousand migrants, whose presence in such large numbers crushed and stagnated the progress of Negro life. The processes of assimilation which the colored citizens are carrying on cannot immediately bring back the pendulum which has swung to a position of depressed social, economic and moral life. Only gradually as the weights of ignorance, lack of culture, and increased racial prejudice, aroused by the white people against the whole Negro citizenry as a result of the tremendous increase in the size of the Negro population, are removed, will the pendulum return to normal. The pessimist groans that it will never regain this position and points to the previous culture level of Philadelphia Negroes as if it had been permanently drowned by a torrent of migration. Certainly none of us can deny that the migration retarded the steady march of progress of the colored people in Philadelphia.

(2) What is a handicap of a few years if, thereby, some day the Negro of the Mississippi delta or the Georgia fields shall attain the education and culture of the great American middle class! That this day may be realized, a process of training the migrant along many lines will have to be gone through.

The investigation we have made indicates three principal obstacles to the maintenance of a fair standard of living by the migrant families interviewed for the purpose of the study. To the extent that these failures apply to all migrant families, their eradication will be one method of alleviating and improving the position in which the migrant's coming has placed the colored inhabitants of Philadelphia. It is desirable, therefore, that we should consider the facts which prohibited the maintenance of a fair standard of living among the migrant families, with whom we are particularly concerned, and the means of overcoming these facts.

One of the most salient of the impediments was the large number of children to be cared for by a workingman. One hundred per cent of the families of a greater size than six were underfed, and less than one family in ten was underfed in families of two or three persons. While we have allowed \$98.75 for clothing for a family of five, less than \$71.99 was spent by families of a larger size than six, and only families of two or three persons were not underclothed. Besides, families consisting of more than four persons were housed with from  $\frac{5}{16}$  to  $\frac{9}{16}$  of a room per adult male unit. Moreover, no family of more than four persons spent money on recreation, and expenditures for medical aid were not made by the families of the two largest sizes found in this investigation. In addition, the per cent of families making savings, the number of dollars and the percentage of total income saved, showed a marked decrease with an increase in the size of the family. With one exception, families containing five individuals or a greater number, saved less than \$5 per capita. These facts seem to indicate conclusively that failure to maintain a fair

standard of living was, in many cases, due to the large size of the family and that a migrant was unable to provide such a standard if his family consisted of more than five persons.

An equally potent influence in deterring the migrant families from procuring a fair standard of living was ignorance resulting in unwise spending. Food and coal were often bought in small quantities because it was believed to be more economical to spend as little as possible at one time. Then, too, while credit purchase of food may have been mandatory for some families, with insufficient incomes, many families able to pay cash and take advantage of lowered prices failed to consider any other method of securing food. Besides, we find that over \$200 a year was paid in some cases for the rent of one room. Notwithstanding the congested housing condition, it is not improbable that a single room could have been secured for a lower price, or this money applied to the purchase of a house, which would afford healthier living conditions. Also, the types of insurance bought by the majority of the families were expensive for the service they rendered and ill fitted for protecting the insured. Better policies could have been obtained, but the policy holders were usually ignorant of this fact. Such failures on the part of members of the family who expended the income, resulted in a lower standard of living than might otherwise have been secured with the money at their disposal.

A final hindrance to the obtaining of a fair standard of living, not only by the migrant families but by all the Negro families in Philadelphia, was racial prejudice. This made impossible the securing of many items which are requisite to such a standard. The newly built modern house was not for

rent or for sale to Negroes. The houses most frequently obtained by them were in poor condition, old, and discarded by their former white tenants. This was true of all the dwellings in the neighborhood inhabited by the families whose budgets are included in the study. Yet the rental charges for such houses were maintained at a high figure. The most favorable types of insurance could not and cannot be bought by the Negro workingman. Even if he were willing to pay a higher premium rate than that quoted on the market, they are not for sale to him. This means that his family is not as well protected as it should be. Recreation appeared seldom in his budget; for the Negro was admitted to few places where it was offered, and many of the playgrounds, which his taxes went to help support that he might make recreation free for his children, plainly showed their disapproval of colored patronage. With such social conditions existing, money income has a depreciated significance in relation to the character of the standard of living, maintained by a Negro family.

There are, however, certain means which could counteract the influence of the disturbing forces which seem to offset the maintaining of a fair standard of living by some migrant families and are probably equally effective in prohibiting the progress of other Negro families. The first of these is education through the Negro church. It is the church which touches the Negro masses. What it commands, they do. If the church would instruct its members as to how to buy food, insurance, houses, it could exercise a powerful influence in checking unwise spending. Furthermore, the church could help to alleviate the housing problem by building houses instead of expensive church edifices at a cost of hundreds of thou-



sands of dollars. Next, the Negro business man has an opportunity to serve such as few vocations afford. He can provide houses, insurance, recreation for his people and thereby not only produce the commodities that are required for a fair standard of living, but set a standard by paying his Negro employes the wage which is necessary to maintain a fair standard. Finally, the city of Philadelphia has the responsibility of seeing that at least adequate housing is secured by over 100,000 of its population. It owes this not only to its Negro population, but to the citizens of Philadelphia, if it would remove the danger of the breeding and spreading of vice and disease, which follow congestion.

With the Negro church educating its legions of members as to the use and need of commodities which the Negro business man produces, and the municipality seeing that the necessary articles which the individual cannot provide are secured, the most impeding dynamic influences which offset the obtaining of a fair standard of living by the Negro migrant will be overcome. By adopting such means to train the migrant and to remove racial handicaps, it is believed that generations hence will pronounce the migration of 1917-1918 to Philadelphia, not the cause of the fall of the culture of the talented tenth, but the beginning of the spread of that culture to the Negro masses.

## Index

- AID TO MOTHERS WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN.** Emma O. Lundberg, 97-105.
- Adolescence:** adjustment at, a mental hygiene goal, 61-2; development of love life or social relationships, 65-6; development of work or play life, 62-5; standards for adolescent children, 4; ways of meeting problems of, 66-7. *See* Mental Hygiene.
- ADOLESCENCE, MENTAL HYGIENE PROBLEMS OF NORMAL.** Jessie Taft, 61-7.
- Atypical children:** behavior problems of, 68-70, 84-5; definition of, 67; methods of dealing with, 70-3. *See* Behavior problems.
- ATYPICAL CHILDREN, THE BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF.** Frederic H. Knight, 67-73.
- Behavior problems:** of adolescence, 63-6; of atypical children, 68-70, 84-5; discipline and education as affecting, 51-3; methods of dealing with, 70-3; newer interest in, 48, 57. *See* Mental Hygiene.
- BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF ATYPICAL CHILDREN, THE.** Frederic H. Knight, 67-73.
- Birth registration,** 121-3, 127, 130.
- BLUMGART, LEONARD.** Some Aspects of the Mental Hygiene of the Child, 48-53.
- BOLT, RICHARD ARTHUR.** Fundamental Factors in Infant Mortality, 9-16.
- BOSSARD, JAMES H. S.** Editorial Foreword, v-ix.
- CARSTENS, C. C.** The development of Social Work for Child Protection, 135-42.
- Child health station:** function of, 3; organization of, 24-5; sanitation and, 19.
- **labor:** 5, 20, 32, 140; on the farm, 147-50, 152; standards of, 5.
- **protection movement:** controversial character of, 135, 138; development of, 135-6, 140; Massachusetts Society, 137-8, 139; New York Society and influence upon, 136-7, 138, 139; present status of, 138-9; program for, 140-1; public responsibility for, 139, 141.
- CHILD PROTECTION, THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WORK FOR.** C. C. Carstens, 135-42.
- Child welfare boards:** 22, 139, 141, 160-5.
- **movement:** basic purpose of, 154; evolution of, v-viii, 16-8, 135-6; newest conception of, viii, 17, 158.
- CHILDHOOD: THE GOLDEN PERIOD FOR MENTAL HYGIENE.** William A. White, 54-60.
- Children's Bureau, Federal:** 1, 116, 123, 127, 130, 131, 156. *See* Minimum Standards of Child Welfare.
- **code:** democratic nature of, viii, 158; ground work of, 155-6; legislative work of, 156-8; principles of, 158-9.
- CHILDREN'S CODE, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE.** Edward N. Clopper, 154-9.
- Children's Year:** activities and results, 1-3, 156.
- CLOPPER, EDWARD N.** The Development of the Children's Code, 154-9.
- COLORED CHILD, PROBLEMS OF THE.** Eugene Kinckle Jones, 142-7.
- Colored Children:** environmental difficulties of, 144-5; illiteracy and educational problems of, 142-3; infant mortality among, 143-4; juvenile delinquency rates of, 145-6; special handicaps to, 142, 145, 146.
- Community program:** child-health center, 19, 24, 25-6; definition of community, 18; importance of publicity to, 22; initiation and organization of, 21, 23-5; phases in development of, 18; principles of, 18-22, 140-1. *See* State program, Public agencies.
- COMMUNITY MEASURES TO PRESERVE CHILD LIFE.** Ellen C. Potter, 16-27.
- CULBERT, JANE F.** The Visiting Teacher, 81-90.
- Delinquent children:** correlation of childhood and adult delinquency, 57-60; juvenile delinquency among colored children, 145-6; mental content and, 71; percentage of, 74; school provisions for, 77-8.
- Dependent children:** causes for dependency, 99-100; the foster home and, 120; total number receiving benefits of mothers' aid, 100. *See* Handicapped children, Mothers' aid.
- DEPENDENT CHILDREN, AID TO MOTHERS WITH.** Emma O. Lundberg, 97-105.
- DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILDREN'S CODE, THE.** Edward N. Clopper, 154-9.
- DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WORK FOR CHILD PROTECTION, THE.** C. C. Carstens, 135-42.
- DORAN, MARY S.** Foster Home Standards for Socially Handicapped Children, 105-11.
- EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN, PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISIONS FOR.** Arnold Gesell, 73-81.
- Farm children:** child labor aspect of, 147-50, 152-3; child labor and illiteracy, 149, 150; deprivations of, 150-1; economic solution of, problem, 152-3; the school and, 151-2.
- Financial aspect of child welfare program:** 25, 33.
- Follow-up work:** 73, 82, 87-8. *See* Supervision, Visiting teacher.
- Foster homes:** effective supervision of, 111, 113-15; ideal behind, 105; necessity for real and complete evidence of fitness of, 107-9; responsibility of boards of directors, 105-7; special qualifications required of, 110-11, 117-19; the visit to the, 108-10, 119. *See* Placing-out.

- FOSTER HOME STANDARDS FOR SOCIALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN.** Mary S. Doran, 105-11.
- FUNDAMENTAL FACTORS IN INFANT MORTALITY.** Richard Arthur Bolt, 9-16.
- GESELL, ARNOLD.** Public School Provision for Exceptional Children, 73-81.
- Handicapped children: definition of, 73-4; public school care of, 74-8, 80-1, 166; social service for, 5, 6, 7, 17, 20, 21, 93, 105, 113, 115, 116-9, 128, 130-2, 164; standards for, 6; state policy and, 79, 139, 160, 166.
- HANDICAPPED CHILDREN, FOSTER HOME STANDARDS FOR SOCIALLY.** Mary S. Doran, 120-8.
- HARTMAN, EDWARD T.** Mouth Hygiene and Child Welfare, 44-7.
- Health: contagion and its effects on, 30; defective hearing, 29, 74, 76; defective sight, 29, 74, 75; defective teeth, 28, 34, 44; deformed feet, spine, joints, 29, 34, 74, 77; general, status of school children, 27; heart disease, 30; malnutrition, 29, 34; mental deficiency, 30, 74, 79; necessity for statistics on, 32; public sanitation, 19, 30; requirements of child-health program, 28; responsibility for child, problem, 32; safeguards for, of illegitimate children, 131-2; speech defective, 74, 77; standards for protection of, of mothers and children, 3-4; tuberculosis, 30. *See* Infant Mortality, Nutrition, Mouth hygiene.
- HEALTH FOR AMERICAN CHILDHOOD, POSITIVE.** Harriet L. Leete, 27-33.
- HELPING THE FARMER THROUGH HIS CHILDREN.** Owen R. Lovejoy, 147-53.
- HEWINS, KATHARINE P.** Supervision of Placed-Out Children, 112-20.
- HODSON, WILLIAM A.** A State Program for Child Welfare, 159-67.
- HYGIENE AND CHILD WELFARE, MOUTH.** Edward T. Hartman, 44-7.
- Hygiene. *See* Health, Mental hygiene, Mouth hygiene.
- Illegitimacy: basic aspects of illegitimacy problems, 129-30; health safeguards, 131-2; improved legal procedure for, 126-8, 134; need for better agencies, 131; need for complete statistics, 130; need for higher standards in case work, 130; need for sex education, 133; the schools and, 132-4.
- ILLEGITIMACY, WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH GOOD SOCIAL WORK IN THE FIELD OF?** J. Prentice Murphy, 129-35.
- ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH, SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILDREN HANDICAPPED BY.** Katharine F. Lenroot, 120-8.
- Illegitimate children: change in social attitude toward, 120-1, 32; comparative rate of infant mortality for legitimate and, 124-5; legal protection of, 126-8, 134; percentage of, 121-3; relation of illegitimacy to dependence and delinquency, 126; social measures for protection of, 128, 131, 132; special handicaps of, 125-6, 131; standards for welfare of, 127. *See* Handicapped children.
- Infant mortality: birth control, 13; birth rate and, 13; causes of, 11, 14; comparison of colored and white, 143-4; comparative, rates for legitimate and illegitimate children, 124-5; controllability of, 9; maternal mortality and, 10, 12; neonatal, 10; obstetrics and, 12, 19; prenatal care and, 12; pre-school years and, 9; reference list of articles dealing with, 15-6.
- INFANT MORTALITY, FUNDAMENTAL FACTORS IN.** Richard Arthur Bolt, 9-16.
- Investigation of one hundred negro migrant families: accuracy of results obtained, 179; conclusions regarding, 213-8; method, 178-9; scope, 178; standards consulted, 188, 189, 192, 198, 206, 208, 210.
- JONES, EUGENE KINCKLE.** Problems of the Colored Child, 142-7.
- Juvenile court: children's aid and, 97; standards for, 7.
- KNIGHT, FREDERIC H.** The Behavior Problems of Atypical Children, 67-73.
- LATHROP, JULIA C.** Standards of Child Welfare, 1-8.
- LEETE, HARRIET L.** Positive Health for American Childhood, 27-33.
- Legislation: child protective, 136, 139; of children's code movement, 156-8; illegitimacy, 121, 126-8, 134; mothers' aid laws, 97-9, 102; necessity for, 31; standards for, 7-8.
- LENROOT, KATHARINE F.** Social Responsibility for the Protection of Children Handicapped by Illegitimate Birth, 120-8.
- LOVEJOY, OWEN R.** Helping the Farmer Through His Children, 147-53.
- LUNDBERG, EMMA O.** Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children, 97-105.
- MCCOLLUM, E. V.** Nutrition as a Factor in Physical Development, 34-43.
- Medical aspects: correction and prevention, 34, 45-6; health standards, 3-5; of school system, 77-8. *See* Health, Mouth hygiene, Nutrition.
- Mental hygiene: childhood the critical period for, 54-6, 58-60; correlation of childhood with adult delinquency, 58-60; discipline and education as affecting, 51-3, 57; experiments in, 50-1; hereditary disposition and origin of character traits, 49-51, 54-7; the new behavior aspect, 48-9, 57; program of prevention, 57-8, 59; and the school system, 77-8. *See* Adolescence, Behavior, problems.

- MENTAL HYGIENE OF THE CHILD, SOME ASPECTS OF THE.** Leonard Blumgart, 48-53.
- MENTAL HYGIENE, CHILDHOOD: THE GOLDEN PERIOD FOR.** William A. White, 54-60.
- MENTAL HYGIENE PROBLEMS OF NORMAL ADOLESCENCE.** Jessie Taft, 61-7.
- Minimum Standards for Child Welfare:** 3-8, 19, 33, 105, 127, 156.
- MOSELL, SADIE TANNER.** The Standard of Living Among One Hundred Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia, 168-218.
- Mothers' aid:** administration of, 104-5; beginnings of, movement, 97; causes of application for, 99-100; inadequacy of grants, 102-3; increase in expenditures for, 101-2, 103; spread of, laws, 98-9, 104-5; total number of children benefiting by, 100-1.
- Mouth hygiene:** development and establishment of, 46, 47; preventive aspect of, 45-6; relation of, to health, 45; statistics of, 28, 44; tooth building and maintenance, 46-7.
- MOUTH HYGIENE AND CHILD WELFARE.** Edward T. Hartman, 44-7.
- MURPHY, J. PRENTICE.** What Can Be Accomplished Through Good Social Work in the Field of Illegitimacy, 129-35.
- National Child Labor Committee:** 147, 149, 151, 153.
- Negro migrant families:** details of migration of, 173-8; expenditures of, 180, 185-206; incomes and sources of incomes of, 181-5; industrial adaptation of, 214-5, 181; maintenance of fair standard of living by, 214; occupations of, 180-1, 193; suggested budget for, 206-13. *See* Investigation of one hundred negro migrant families.
- NEGRO MIGRANT FAMILIES IN PHILADELPHIA, THE STANDARD OF LIVING AMONG ONE HUNDRED.** Sadie Tanner Mossell, 168-218.
- Nutrition:** the calcium factor in, 41; causes of malnutrition, 35; dietary properties of our natural foodstuffs, 37-9; experiments in, 39-41; importance to child welfare of, 29, 34; physical deterioration due to faulty, 34, 35, 41-3; in relation to mouth hygiene, 43, 44, 46; three essentials of diet (fat-soluble A, water-soluble B, water-soluble C), 36-7.
- NUTRITION AS A FACTOR IN PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT.** E. V. McCollum, 34-43.
- Placed-out children:** standards for, 115, 116-19. *See* Placing-out, Handicapped children.
- PLACED-OUT CHILDREN, SUPERVISION OF.** Katharine P. Hewins, 112-20.
- Placing-out:** importance of supervision, 113-5; importance of supervising visitors, 115-6, 119; the "last resort," 112-3, 119-20, 135; necessity for definite plan in good, 113; principles of wise, 119-20; program for good supervision of, 116-20. *See* Foster homes.
- POSITIVE HEALTH FOR AMERICAN CHILDHOOD.** Harriet L. Leete, 27-33.
- POTTER, ELLEN C.** Community Measures to Preserve Child Life, 16-27.
- PRATT, ANNA BEACH.** The Relation of the Teacher and the Social Worker, 90-6.
- PROBLEMS OF THE COLORED CHILD.** Eugene Kinckle Jones, 142-7.
- Public agencies:** child hygiene divisions in state departments, 2, 22; employment, 5; general measures for, 7, 8, 20, 26, 31, 79-81, 104, 121, 164; and health of mothers and children, 3-5, 19, 21; need for, 139, 141-2; private vs., 17, 23, 26, 74, 142, 162, 166; a program for, 140-1; the schools as, 4, 20, 73, 116, 152; woman's part in, 20. *See* Legislation, Public school system.
- PUBLIC SCHOOL PROVISION FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN.** Arnold Gesell, 73-81.
- Public school system:** coöperation with other agencies, 84, 90; need for coördination with home and community, 82, 84-5, 87; opportunities of, as child welfare agency, 4, 20, 21, 26, 58, 73, 80-1, 82, 116, 152; place of social worker in the, 91-5, 96; provisions for exceptional children, 20, 73, 75-80, 92-3; range of school problems, 82-4, 132; rural child problem and, 149, 150, 151-2; standards for school children, 4; truancy problem, 95-6; the visiting teacher and the, 81-4. *See* Teacher and social worker, Visiting teacher.
- Recreation:** community centre, 19; facilities for placed-out children, 118; playgrounds, 19, 21; program of Children's Year, 2; proper supervision of, 21, 133; standards for, 7; visiting teacher and, 87, 88.
- RELATION OF THE TEACHER AND THE SOCIAL WORKER, THE.** Anna Beach Pratt, 90-6.
- School children.** *See* Public school system.
- SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN HANDICAPPED BY ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH.** Katharine F. Lerfoot, 120-8.
- SOCIALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN, FOSTER HOME STANDARDS FOR.** Mary S. Doran, 105-11.
- SOME ASPECTS OF THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF THE CHILD.** Leonard Blumgart, 48-53.
- STANDARDS OF LIVING AMONG ONE HUNDRED NEGRO MIGRANT FAMILIES IN PHILADELPHIA, THE.** Sadie Tanner Mossell, 168-218.
- Standards of child welfare:** community, 19; conferences on, 2-3, 127, 156; Minimum Standards for Child Welfare, 3-8, 19, 33, 105, 127, 156.
- STANDARDS OF CHILD WELFARE.** Julia C. Lathrop, 1-8.



State program: administration of mothers' aid, 104-5; in the schools, 74, 75, 79, 116; Minnesota county boards and functions, 164-5; Minnesota State Board of Control and its functions, 160-4; need for centralized administration, 161-2; obligation of the state, 80-1, 159-60, 162; principles of, 165-7; state agencies for enforcing, 22, 24, 26, 161, 164, 167. *See* Public agencies, Community program, Legislation.

STATE PROGRAM FOR CHILD WELFARE, A. William Hodson, 159-67.

Supervision: efficient, of placed-out children, 111, 113, 116-20; importance of good, 113-5, 135; mothers' aid administration, 104-5.

SUPERVISION OF PLACED-OUT CHILDREN. Katharine P. Hewins, 112-20.

TAFT, JESSIE. Mental Hygiene Problems of Normal Adolescence, 61-7.

Teacher and social worker: factors in common and their development, 91-3; in attendance

departments, 95-6; results of coöperation of, 92-3; social worker as link between parents and teacher, 96; the teacher's need of the social worker, 90, 93-4.

TEACHER AND THE SOCIAL WORKER, THE RELATION OF THE. Anna Beach Pratt, 90-6.

Visiting teacher: the approach of the, 84, 88; coöperation of, with other agencies, 84-5; growth of, movement, 85-6; introduction and relation to school system, 81-4, 88; methods of work of, 86-9; preparation of, 89; reasons for referring children to, 83.

VISITING TEACHER, THE. Jane F. Culbert, 81-90.

WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH GOOD SOCIAL WORK IN THE FIELD OF ILLEGITIMACY? J. Prentice Murphy, 129-135.

White House Conference, 5, 6, 97, 112, 155, 156.

WHITE, WILLIAM A. Childhood: The Golden Period for Mental Hygiene, 54-60.





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# *The Annals*

OF

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

NOVEMBER, 1921

## *Austria To-day*

PHILADELPHIA

*The American Academy of Political and Social Science*



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*Issued bi-monthly by the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Concord, New Hampshire.*

*Editorial Office, 30th Street and Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.*

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*Entered as second-class matter, May 15th, 1914, at the post-office at Concord, New Hampshire, under the Act of August 24, 1879.*

# PRESENT DAY SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA

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THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE  
39TH STREET AND WOODLAND AVENUE  
PHILADELPHIA  
1921

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
<b>FOREWORD—PRESENT DAY SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA.</b> .....	v
Dr. Friedrich Hertz, Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER I. THE POPULATION OF THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC.</b> .....	1
Dr. Wilhelm Winkler, Hofsekretär of the Central Commission for Statistics and Privatdocent for Statistics at the University of Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER II. THE PRESENT STATE OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY IN THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA.</b> .....	6
Compiled by the Central Board for Protection of the Interests of Agriculture and Forestry	
<b>CHAPTER III. THE WATER POWER QUESTION IN AUSTRIA.</b> .....	9
Dr. Friedrich Hertz, Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER IV. THE COAL SUPPLY OF AUSTRIA AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1918.</b> .....	16
Rudolph Kloss, D.L.L., Civil Engineer and President of the Coal Supply Department of the Board of Trade	
<b>CHAPTER V. THE PUBLIC FINANCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA.</b> .....	20
Dr. Emanuel Hugo Vogel, Professor of the University of Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER VI. THE CURRENCY PROBLEM OF AUSTRIA.</b> .....	28
Dr. Emanuel Hugo Vogel, Professor of the University of Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER VII. AUSTRIAN BANKS.</b> .....	34
Dr. Max Sokal, Manager of the Wiener Giro-und Kassen-Verein, Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER VIII. TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORT IN AUSTRIA.</b> .....	40
Compiled by the Ministry for Transport and Traffic	
<b>CHAPTER IX. THE MANUFACTURES OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA.</b> ....	45
Dr. Siegmund Schilder, Secretary of the Commercial Museum of Vienna, and Privatdocent at the University of Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER X. AUSTRIA'S TRADE</b> .....	51
Hofrat Professor Anton Schmid, Director of the High School of Commerce, in Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER XI. THE CUSTOMS POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA.</b> ...	53
Dr. Siegmund Schilder, Secretary of the Commercial Museum of Vienna and Privatdocent at the University of Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER XII. SOCIAL POLICY IN THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA.</b> .....	56
Dr. Anton Hoffmann-Ostenhof, Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER XIII. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL AID IN AUSTRIA.</b> .....	61
Dr. Robert Bartsch, Professor in the University of Vienna, Ministerialrat and Director of the Juvenile Aid Department of the Ministry for Social Administration in Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER XIV. THE PRESENT STATE OF THE HOUSING QUESTION IN AUSTRIA.</b> .....	65
Heinrich Goldemund, Civil Engineer, Former Architect in Chief of the City of Vienna	
<b>CHAPTER XV. CRIMINALITY IN AUSTRIA</b> .....	67
Dr. Wenzel Gleispach, Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Science at the University of Vienna	
<b>INDEX</b> .....	72





## FOREWORD

### Present Day Social and Industrial Conditions in Austria

By DR. FRIEDRICH HERTZ

Vienna

THE fate of Austria has aroused world-wide sympathy and the unparalleled relief-movement organized in so many countries, is, perhaps, the most hopeful symptom of the revival of the spirit of solidarity and brotherhood in the world. America has taken the lead in this movement and her generous efforts have actually saved Austria's children and have filled the hearts of the Austrian people with gratitude and admiration. Yet even charity must at last come to an end. The question therefore arises whether the present Republic of Austria, as constituted by the Peace Treaty, is capable of existing as a separate unit at all; whether it possesses the basis for living on the products of its own labor.

Austrian public opinion at present seems to despair of this possibility. For plebiscites, organized in several Austrian provinces, gave an overwhelming majority for fusion with Germany. Also, immediately after the foundation of the Republic, the Austrian National Assembly pronounced itself for such a union. But all these declarations encountered the veto of the Allies, especially of France, which threatened Austria with the gravest measures if she did not check the movement, though the Peace Treaty expressly admits the possibility of a fusion with the consent of the League of Nations. The Austrian plebiscites had no aim other than to create a basis for an appeal to the League of Nations by ascer-

taining that the people really desired a fusion with Germany.

The motives of this movement are to a great extent economic though, of course, the general desire for national unification also plays a certain part. A glance at the rates of exchange or prices, suffices to prove that Germany is by far better off than Austria, in spite of all the schemes for the economic rehabilitation of Austria, drawn up by the Allies. Up till now (July, 1921) very little has come of all these schemes and Austrian public opinion has lost nearly all confidence in this respect. On the other hand the German mark, which in pre-war days was 1.18 kronen, at present is equivalent to almost 11 kronen! The main reason for this disastrous depreciation of the currency consists in the disproportion between imports and exports, which forces the government continually to increase the banknote circulation in order to pay for the necessary imports of food, coal, and raw materials. Consequently, the Austrian krone has gone down to much less than the hundredth part of its pre-war standard and the budget shows a steadily increasing deficit.

Now the question is whether this deficit in the trade balance and in the budget is temporary or permanent; in other words, whether Austria possesses enough productive powers to pay for her supplies from abroad. In Austria opinions on this point are divided but in most cases the answer is in the negative. The fact is emphasized that by

the Peace Treaty Austria has lost most of her natural wealth; that her former coal riches, especially, and most of the fertile soil have been awarded almost totally to other countries, and that nothing has been left to Austria but the barren rocks of the Alps and a huge capital of two million inhabitants, the former administrative center of a big empire, now doomed to unproductiveness. It has been maintained that the population of Vienna consists mainly of officials, commercial and financial middlemen, artists, pleasure-seekers and similar elements, while industrial production in former Austria was mostly carried on in Czecho-Slovakia. Such statements, however, are exaggerations. To a great extent their underlying motive is political propaganda, and they are employed especially by certain supporters of the fusion with Germany to underrate the productive capacity of Austria in order to prove that the union is the only way left. On the other hand, these pan-German arguments are also used by Czech propagandists who represent Vienna as a parasite which has always sponged on the toil of the Slavic provinces and which therefore must be eliminated by a system of trade restrictions.

The only truth in all these statements is that the natural resources of present Austria are very restricted indeed. They consist mainly in forests, iron ore, salt and water powers. Of the total subterranean coal wealth of former Austria, only one-half of one per cent came to the present Austrian Republic, all the rest being divided between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland.<sup>1</sup> Then, too, the agricultural soil of Austria cannot be compared with the rich plains of Jugo-Slavia, Poland or Czecho-Slova-

kia. It is also true that Austria has lost a very great part of her industries, developed, financed and owned by Austrian manufacturers in the German parts of Czecho-Slovakia. But on the other hand, Austria even now possesses great industries, mainly concentrated in and around Vienna. Probably most Austrians would be highly surprised by the statement that present Austria comprises almost the same number of factories and factory workers as Bohemia, though Bohemia has half a million inhabitants more. Yet it is an indisputable fact as can easily be gathered from pre-war statistics.

In former Austria, every industrial worker employed in a workshop with motor power had to be insured against accident. In 1913 the number of such insured industrial workers amounted to 745,289 in Bohemia and to 740,000 in the present territory of Austria. The number of factories (workshops with motor power and more than twenty workmen) amounted in 1919 to 6,283 in present Austria, while in Bohemia there were 6,544 factories in 1915. These are the latest figures available. Of course, Bohemia had a greater mining industry (64,568 miners against 29,308 in Austria) and her domestic industries, not included in the preceding statistics, were more extensive than those of Austria. Moreover, Bohemia has the great advantage of a much more fertile soil and a very high level of agricultural development as compared with Austria. But these advantages of Bohemia are more than outweighed by the enormous transit, trade and banking system of Austria, by her great capital investments in all the territories of the former empire and by the importance of Vienna as a center of science, medicine, technics, art, music and pleasure, attracting hundreds of thousands of foreigners from all parts of the world.

<sup>1</sup> The actual output is larger than the percentage quoted but the Austrian coal mines will be exhausted in a rather short time and the coal (lignite) is of very poor quality.

The greatest drawback for Austria is that her agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of small peasants, is not on the same level as her industries. Yet Austria possesses 50 per cent more productive soil per head than does Switzerland, and it can easily be proved that Austria could produce the greatest part of her food requirements. This, however, cannot be achieved in a short time because the peasants can only be educated gradually and slowly. Moreover, the development of Alpine agriculture according to the Swiss model demands large capital and many years.

Also, the view that unproductive elements form a much greater part of the population in Austria than elsewhere is quite unfounded. Before the war in the present territory of Austria 53 per cent of the total population were employed in different occupations and this figure surpassed every country in Europe and was equalled only by France. Especially great was the percentage of female workers. The number of officials and professionals (lawyers, teachers, etc.) in 1910 amounted to 7.29 per cent of the occupied population in Austria; to 8.2 per cent, in France; 6.4 per cent, in England; 6.2 per cent, in Germany and 6.1 per cent, in Holland. This percentage of officials would certainly seem too numerous for present impoverished Austria, but it must be borne in mind that the figures usually quoted comprise all the railwaymen and workers in state mines and factories (salt and tobacco monopolies, etc.). The greatest part of these so-called officials are therefore manual workers. If railway employes are excluded, the number of state officials (including teachers and law officials) forms about six-tenths of one per cent of the population.

It is possible, therefore, that Austria possesses enough productive forces to maintain herself, provided that she

were really in a condition to use these means to their full extent. If the plight of Vienna and the ruin of Austrian finances has startled the world, the reason consists in the fact that productivity was paralyzed for a very long time and even now is far from being normal.

Present Austria produces comparatively but little coal, raw materials and food and she must buy these products from the neighboring states with industrial products. Therefore, Austria more than most other states absolutely requires free trade both for imports and exports. Long before Germany was united in a customs union, old Austria had already formed an economic unit without internal barriers (since 1773) and all parts of the big empire were economically interdependent. This economic unity was broken up by the Peace Treaty in such a way that new Austria was absolutely at the mercy of her neighbors who believed that their interests would be greatly furthered by a system of economic seclusion. This belief, however, proved entirely wrong. The disruption of the monetary union by Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia not only ruined Austrian currency, but also did great harm to the monetary value of the states themselves. While after the war the old Austrian currency was still quoted about 30 Swiss francs for 100 kronen, this figure, after the stamping of the bank notes, went down to about 4 francs for Czecho-Slovakia, and even now, after the lapse of three years, stands below 8 francs. The same happened in all other states which believed that the monetary separation from Austria would greatly improve their own currency.

The same belief led also to a sort of mutual commercial blockade among all the Succession States of Austria-Hungary. Of course the underlying ideas of this new mercantilism were, more or



less, to be found everywhere in Europe; they were but the war spirit applied to economics. Everywhere, states (and even provinces or districts within each state) endeavored to keep their food and other vital productions as much as possible for themselves, and therefore restricted exports. Everywhere, the tendency was also to restrict imports of luxuries and other "unnecessary" things in order to protect the rate of exchange; and, lastly, everywhere, traffic and travelling generally were subjected to many regulations and restrictions, either in order to secure the working of the internal distribution, the control of food, coal and raw materials introduced during the war or to conform to the Peace Treaty.<sup>2</sup>

But in the case of the Austro-Hungarian Succession States, the consequences of this system were the more disastrous as they had formed an economic unit for many centuries, and as very often the economic isolation was still aggravated by national animosities.

Most critical was the situation at Vienna, because it was most helpless and most exposed not only to national jealousies directed against the former capital itself but also to economic reactions springing from differences among neighbors. Whenever Poles and Czechs, or Poles and Germans, or Hungarians, or Czechs, or Italians and Jugo-Slavs were quarrelling about coal territories, or a province or a seaport, the reaction was felt in Vienna, because of her central position, and immediately

coal and food supplies were stopped either through the suspension of railway traffic or through other extraordinary measures. Moreover, every state possessing food was willing to sell it only against "sound money" or against goods, not against paper money. But how could Vienna pay in sound money since the disruption of the monetary union had brought about a total breakdown of the Austrian currency, and how could her industries produce, since the coal supply from Czecho-Slovakia and Silesia was strangled to an entirely insufficient minimum? In 1919 the factories of Austria could work only at a rate of about 25 per cent because the coal producing states absolutely refused to deliver more coal and the people of Vienna had to cut down trees in the surrounding woods and drag them home on their backs in order to cook their scanty meals. In the following year the coal output in Czecho-Slovakia increased to 86 per cent of the peace production, yet Austria received only 40 per cent, though most of the Czecho-Slovak mines are owned by Austrians who would willingly have sent coal if the Czech Government had only allowed it. At last the impoverishment of Austria led to a severe crisis in Czecho-Slovakia whose industries had always sold most of their products to Vienna. The consequence was a closing down of factories in Czecho-Slovakia and a setting free of coal for Austria which, however, in the meantime had been forced to procure coal from Holland!

In the same way Austria had during a long time to buy grain, flour and meat in America, Manchuria, etc., and even sugar in Java, instead of getting them from her neighbors who had an abundance of these foodstuffs. Generally in all states, including Austria, exports were restricted not only where there was a scarcity, but also when a great

<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, the economic system of the Peace Treaty forcibly increases exports for Reparation, etc., and at the same time keeps down wages in Germany and Austria. The natural consequence is that every other state tries to shut itself off against these forced exports. On the other hand Germany and Austria had to impose enormous new taxes and this made it necessary too to control exports in order to prevent *Vermögensflucht* (smuggling out of values).

surplus was available for export, as in the case of sugar and coal in Czecho-Slovakia, or in the case of wood and paper in Austria and of cattle and grain in Jugo-Slavia. Every state tried to control the export of its chief products in order to exact greater advantages from neighbors dependent on these supplies. But the result of this policy was very often the exact opposite of that expected! Indeed, Czecho-Slovakia which developed this policy to the highest pitch, through it lost the Austrian market for many of her products. For example, Czecho-Slovakia restricted the export of textile goods and iron to Vienna with the effect that the Italians conquered the Austrian market in cotton goods and the Germans, the iron market to the detriment of Czecho-Slovakia. The same policy of state interference was also applied to imports, and Austria suffered severely through the sudden seclusion of many of her traditional markets. Instead of protective tariffs, a general prohibition of all imports has been decreed and any imports (as well as exports) require special licenses.

Austria herself at the beginning followed a much freer trade policy than her neighbors, but gradually she, too, began to increase her trade restrictions, either because of retaliation or for purposes of taxation of luxury imports. Yet the whole system has already over-lived itself. Conviction has become general in all the Succession States that trade and traffic must be relieved of some of their fetters and that the system of prohibitions and special licenses must give way to the principle of comparatively free trade under a revised customs tariff.

Under this practical blockade, Vienna had to suffer appallingly but already the beginning of freer traffic has created a surprising revival in trade at the Capital. Moreover, the very difficul-

ties arising from the economic disruption have, on the other hand, contributed to very remarkable developments in Vienna. The countless barriers, discrepancies and frictions between the new states made it more necessary than ever to have a central point for coping with these new fangled absurdities. Every traveller must now continually change his money because he has to pass a new frontier every few hours. The trader cannot send money freely to any place without the assistance of a bank, as he formerly did, and if he has to travel, passport and other difficulties cause enormous waste of time and force. Under such circumstances, Vienna has become a gigantic clearing house, central market and meeting point for all the Succession States. An incredible number of new banks and commercial houses have sprung up and their gorgeous premises form a new feature in the streets of the city. The Vienna banks are dealing every day with fantastic amounts of foreign exchanges and the stock exchange is seething with wild speculation for the account of all new states. The very multitude of trade and traffic difficulties which nobody can keep in mind induces foreign merchants to consign their goods to Vienna which serves as a sort of free port and as a distributing center for the whole of former Austria-Hungary and Eastern Europe. In consequence of so many difficulties, many more brains and hands are necessary for handling a certain volume of trade and this is one of the main reasons for the astounding multiplication of new firms in Vienna.

All these evolutions have created an atmosphere of bustling commercial activity, of reckless gambling and extravagant luxury. The people connected with it are mostly foreigners and the Viennese are very bitter against them, calling them "profiteers"

(Schieber). Yet their doings are to some extent an inevitable consequence of the great catastrophe of war. Good and evil are inextricably mixed up in this development, yet superficial observers usually overlook its less favorable side; they forget that this whole buoyant prosperity is in many respects more apparent and artificial than real, and that, in the main, a relatively small class is profiting by it. For, in the last resort, all these thousands of new traders and gamblers with their huge staff of clerks and their appendix of parasites are, to a great extent, not a symptom of increased production or trade. They owe their existence partly to the disruption of the former economic unity and the paralyzing effects of government restrictions, which can be overcome only by the often unscrupulous practices of these adventurers, and partly to the impoverishment of Austria by such adventurers who with their "sound money" buy up the remnants of Austria's wealth. Somebody must at last pay for this multitude of new businesses, and this darker side is neglected by most of the foreign visitors walking through the luxurious streets near the "Ring."

Yet the fact remains that in the last year a remarkable improvement has taken place in Austria, in spite of the fact that the rate of exchange has dropped about one-fifth during this time.<sup>3</sup> The working classes have been able to increase their wages considerably though they are still far below the peace parity. But the situation of the intellectual middle classes and of old people, no longer able to work, has grown still worse. A higher official or university professor, for example, now receives about 12 times his pre-war

salary, and this will soon be increased to about 20 times the amount, but prices have gone up at least from 100 to 150 times as compared with pre-war prices. There are many scholars and retired high functionaries who have taken to manual professions or other very subordinate positions; old admirals or generals have become cobblers and their wives and daughters are toiling day and night with needlework. Many families can keep two ends together only by selling their furniture, trinkets or works of art. Of course this condition must soon come to an end.

The condition of the middle classes however, will be affected for the worse by the progressing abandonment of state control over food. The system of selling food rations to the people below the cost price paid by the state was quite unavoidable as long as the productive forces of the towns were paralyzed by coal scarcity and other hindrances. On the other hand, the state subsidies for this purpose have ruined the budget, and the currency and maximum prices have contributed to lame agricultural production. Therefore a radical change is about to be carried out, but it will certainly cause new sufferings to the classes which are least organized and least able to adapt their income to rising prices, viz., the intellectual workers.

It is generally recognized that any real economic rehabilitation of Austria must begin with the stabilization of the monetary value. The rapid fluctuations in the exchange are seriously impeding solid trade and fostering speculation. Therefore the different schemes for restoring Austria's economic life have all taken this as a starting point. At present the League of Nations is considering such a plan and there is no doubt about its earnest desire to carry it through. Conferences are to be held at the same time between

<sup>3</sup> In July, 1920 the quotation in Vienna for 1 £ was 600 kronen and for 1 dollar 150 kronen, while a year later the £ was over 3,000 and the dollar over 800 kronen.

all the Succession States for the settlement of outstanding economic questions and the abandonment of trade restrictions. This excellent scheme is due mainly to the endeavors of the former American Representative on the Reparation Commission, Colonel Smith. Some minor questions have already been settled in this way, but unfortunately most new states seem rather reluctant to follow a policy of economic solidarity and coöperation because they are afraid that this would infringe upon their sovereignty. Austrians, generally, deeply regret that America has withdrawn from the Reparation Commission and that apart from its most magnanimous relief measures the United States seems to be disinterested as regards the economic consequences of the disruption of Austria which was mainly brought about by President Wilson's policy.<sup>4</sup>

One great asset in Austria's future development is the total absence of tendencies dangerous to external and internal peace. Most European countries are at present agitated by the mad convulsions of nationalism and communism. In Germany, Italy, Hungary, etc., civil war was or is still raging, and red and white terrorists are outdoing one another in bloodshed and atrocities. In Austria the whole revolution from an old monarchy to a new republic has passed off quietly. Austria is the only country, indeed, where communism is almost non-existent; at the general elections not even 1 per

<sup>4</sup>It is, however, unfounded to blame the principle of self-determination as is often done in American papers. Not the principle but the fact that it has been disregarded has caused the present economic situation and political unrest. According to this principle the thirty-nine million Germans, annexed by Czecho-Slovakia, would have remained united with Austria and since their territory comprises the greatest coal mines and industries Austria would never have been paralyzed in her productivity and would not have needed any relief whatever.

cent of the votes were cast for the communists and they have not a single member in Parliament. Even the nationalists polled only a small number of votes (13 per cent), and these of a rather mild type if compared with the Pan-Germans in Germany or the Fascisti in Italy. Obviously, the Austrian character is averse to all forms of violence. The two great parties are: 1. The Christian Socialists, who are similar to the German Centre party, and chiefly composed of small peasants and artisans. They polled 43.5 per cent of all votes. 2. The Social Democrats (35.5 per cent), who are moderate Socialists. At present a non-party government is in power, formed of neutral officials and mainly supported by the Christian Socialists. In external politics, Austria pursues a policy of strictest neutrality and good relations to all states.

Vienna has always been a very international city. From earliest times two of the greatest European commercial highways have crossed it. Vienna has also been the center of a great international Empire for many centuries. Nowhere else in Europe do so many cultural elements from different nations flow together, and this very confluence has formed the Viennese character with a certain instinctive tolerance and broadmindedness. There is no aggressiveness in the Austrian mind and the people, certainly, never had the slightest suspicion of the criminal folly of those few diplomats who kindled the War in 1914. Also, the Austrian character does not lack energy to the extent that is so often supposed. But what is really wanting, just now more than ever, is self-confidence. Quite otherwise from the inhabitants of Germany, Austrians were rather used to underrate their own economic efficiency, and their local patriotism satisfied itself, rather, with stressing cultural achieve-



ments. Even before the war it had been a quite general tendency in Austria to compare the economic development of Germany with that of Austria in a manner very derogatory to the latter. Indeed, it was a great surprise to Austrian economists when I proved, in a book published in 1918, that in the ten years before the war Austrian industries had increased in exactly the same proportion as had the industries of Germany.<sup>5</sup> Now the whole development since the breakdown of old Austria has still greatly increased the lack of confidence in the future. The absolute dependency of Austria on her neighbors as regards food, coal and raw materials, other restrictions in the Peace Treaty and, finally, the failure of so many well-meant schemes of the Allies for the economic restoration, have created a wide-spread feeling of despondency.

Therefore economic reconstruction requires a psychological change as well. It is necessary to diminish the abnormal dependency of Austria on her neighbors and to make her more self-contained by developing agriculture, opening new coal mines and harnessing water powers. A project of greatest importance for Austria has just been started in Germany, namely the construction of a ship canal between the Rhine and the Danube. This great work will, of course, take a long time but its accomplishment will give Vienna free access to the North Sea, and increase traffic on the Danube enormous-

ly. The difficulty with the Danube always has been that while most transports went up the river, return freights were lacking. But after the completion of the ship canal it will be possible to ship all raw materials, food and coal direct from Rotterdam down the Danube to Vienna, and to the other Danube ports which in return will send their products up the river.

Many other excellent schemes, too, have been drawn up for increasing productivity and enabling Austria to live on her labor. But it must be realized that all these plans require great outlay of capital and a long period of time, and that the whole economic organism of Austria has been exhausted to the utmost during the years of the War and still further through the economic war after the War. The particular conditions of Austria render the execution of great schemes and reforms most difficult, and the constantly progressing financial ruin of Austria has up till now justified the pessimism dominating public opinion.

Finally, it is important beyond all that the still pending questions connected with the Peace Treaty should be settled as soon as possible. The uncertainty as to how these outstanding problems will be solved is making for much distrust of the future. Also the question of reparations, though it does not seem to have much practical bearing, ought not to be left open. Only such a general settlement will restore the confidence of foreign capitalists in Austria's future, and will give hope to the Austrians themselves that their efforts for working out their own salvation will not be in vain.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dr. Fr. Hertz, *Die Produktionsgrundlagen der österreichischen Industrie vor und nach dem Kriege, insbesondere im Vergleich mit Deutschland* (Verlag für Fachliteratur, Wien) 6th Edition, 1918.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS supplement on "Present Day Social and Industrial Conditions in Austria" was edited for the American Academy by Professor W. Gleispach of the University of Vienna. The Editorial Council asked Professor Gleispach to prepare this supplement in order that the readers of the *ANNALS* the world over may have at hand data on present conditions in Austria compiled by Austrian scholars with access to valuable and complete information. Our acknowledgments are due Professor Gleispach for careful and painstaking editorial work.

The Foreword and Chapter III were translated by Friederich Hertz, Chapter VII, was translated by Otto Rosenberg and the remaining chapters were translated by Marianne Herzfeld.

CLYDE L. KING,  
*Editor.*



## CHAPTER I

### The Population of the Austrian Republic

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THE former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has fallen a victim to the working of the principle of nationality according to which political boundaries and those of language communities should be identical. It may, therefore,

not seem unexpedient to begin a contemplation of the resident population in one of its newly formed states with a review of the distribution of the inhabitants of the old Danubian Monarchy according to their language.<sup>1</sup>

#### A CLASSIFICATION OF THE POPULATION OF THE FORMER DANUBIAN MONARCHY BY LANGUAGE \*

	AUSTRIA		HUNGARY		BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA		AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY	
	Absolute numbers	Percentage	Absolute numbers	Percentage	Absolute numbers	Percentage	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Germans . . .	9,950,678	34.83	2,037,435	9.75	22,968	1.21	12,011,081	23.39
Magyars . . .	10,899	0.04	10,050,575	48.12	6,443	0.34	10,067,917	19.61
Czechs . . . .	6,435,532	22.52	.....	....	7,045	0.37	6,442,577	12.54
Slovakians <sup>b</sup>	<sup>b</sup>	<sup>b</sup>	1,967,970	9.42	482	0.03	1,968,452	3.83
Poles . . . . .	4,965,667	17.38	"	"	10,975	0.58	4,976,642	9.69
Ukrainians . .	3,518,882	12.32	472,587	2.26	7,431	0.39	3,998,900	7.79
Slovenians . .	1,253,148	4.39	"	"	3,108	0.16	1,256,256	2.45
Croatians } Serbians }	783,010	2.74	1,833,162 1,106,471	8.78 5.30	1,822,564	96.02	5,545,207	10.80
Roumanians	275,088	0.96	2,949,032	14.12	608	0.03	3,224,728	6.28
Italians and Ladinians	768,592	2.69	"	"	2,462	0.13	771,054	1.50
Sundry others <sup>c</sup> . . .	.....	....	469,255	2.25	13,958	0.74	483,213	0.94
Foreigners <sup>d</sup> . . .	609,304	2.13	<sup>d</sup>	<sup>d</sup>	<sup>d</sup>	<sup>d</sup>	609,304	1.18
	28,570,800	100	20,886,487	100	1,898,044	100	51,355,331	100

\* Language of daily commerce in Austria, mother-tongue in Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

<sup>b</sup> The Slovakians being numbered among the Czechs in Austria, the number of the latter would appear a little too high, that of the former a little too small.

<sup>c</sup> In Hungary, the Poles, Slovenians, Italians and Ladinians are included in "Sundry others."

<sup>d</sup> In Austria the foreigners were excluded from the census relating to the question of language, not so in Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

<sup>1</sup> See *Oesterreichische Statistik* N. F. Vol. 1, Part 2, Vienna 1914; *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, Vol. 42, Budapest 1912; *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung von Bosnien und Herzegovina*, Sarajevo 1912. Foreigners may best find these figures in *Annuaire Internationale de Statistique*, Vol. 1, Page 143 ff., Haag 1916.



The number of the inhabitants of Austria-Hungary speaking German amounted to nearly ten millions or almost 35 per cent, and, together with the 126,393 subjects of the German Empire and other German-speaking foreigners, to more than ten millions. In Hungary, alone, their number exceeded two millions, thus forming one-tenth of the entire population. This total number of over 12 million Germans in the Danubian Monarchy—of which over 9.4 millions inhabited an area of 119,000 square kilometers, a compact territory with a population speaking exclusively German, and bordering on the German Empire<sup>2</sup>—was, during the existence of the Danubian Monarchy, a factor of some importance, but with respect to the intellectual rather than to the political life, the three parts in which the Monarchy was divided (Austria, Hungary and Bosnia-Herzegovina) being quite independent of each other as far as their political nationality was concerned. Great importance attaches to those figures, however, as illustrative of the working of the principle of nationality after the dismemberment of the old Monarchy. For while the majority of the other nations of the disintegrated Monarchy succeeded in realizing the principle of nationality,<sup>3</sup> the German-speaking inhabitants had to face very grave opposing influences. Indeed, representatives of the compact German territories, elected by universal, equal and secret elections, met in a National Assembly in Vienna immediately after the Revolution, and solemnly and unanimously passed a law which pronounced

these territories to belong together and to form one single state, the National State of German-Austria.<sup>4</sup> The foundation of this state, an example of the formation of a state by the right of national self-determination, has, however, not been acknowledged by the Council of Four in Paris.

The new Austrian state, while it was compelled to adopt the name of Republic of Austria, had to give up a territory of 26,869 kilometers with 3,122,839 German-speaking inhabitants to the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, a territory of 7,318 kilometers with 228,447 German-speaking inhabitants to Italy, and likewise some rather large districts with a German majority to Jugo-Slavia. This loss of territories with their population was particularly painful, as the territories yielded up to Czecho-Slovakia were some of them remarkable for their abundance in coal and manufactures (German-Bohemia) and others for their agricultural productivity (German-South Moravia), while with the Dolomite district Austria lost a center of attraction for tourists throughout the world.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL FRONTIERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA

The new frontier of the Republic of Austria as fixed by the Treaty of St. Germain takes almost the same course as the old boundaries of the provinces of Lower<sup>5</sup> and Upper Austria towards

<sup>4</sup> See: *Staatsgesetzblatt für den Staat Deutschösterreich*, No. 1 ex 1918 (Resolution of the Provisional National-Assembly of German-Austria, dated 30th of October, concerning the fundamental institutions of the supreme power); No. 40 ex 1918 (Law dated 22nd of November, 1918, concerning area, frontiers and relations of the territory of German-Austria); No. 4 ex 1919 (Decree *Vollzugsanweisung* of the German-Austrian Staatsrat, State-council, dated the 3rd January, 1919, concerning the districts of jurisdiction, municipalities and villages, which should form the territory of German-Austria).

<sup>5</sup> Deviations are to be found in the districts of

<sup>2</sup> See the detailed statement on the cover of my map of languages in Central Europe, Vienna, Hermann Goldschmiedt, 1921.

<sup>3</sup> The Czechs obtained an independent state of their own, the Poles, Roumanians, Southern Slavs and Italians were united with their motherlands.

Czecho-Slovakia on the north. Then it runs along the old boundary line towards Bavaria and Switzerland, abandoning the same, however, south-west of Nauders and, turning eastward over the ridge of the Central-Alps (the Alps of the Oetzthal, the Stubai and the Zillertal, and the Brenner Pass) cuts the German territory of the Tyrol in two.<sup>6</sup> Starting from the Dreiherrnspitze in the Hohe Tauern it first runs south and then southeast, following on the whole the southern frontier of Carinthia (Carnishian Alps, and Karawanks) at the same time sequestering the district of Tarvis and two smaller districts in southern and northeastern Carinthia. Farther north of the Drave, the frontier takes in the main and eastward course as far as Radkersburg, whereby important German territories, among them Mahrenberg and Marburg have fallen to the share of the Jugoslav Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> The eastern frontier of the Republic of Austria follows at first a tract of the former frontier of the Empire northeast of Radkersburg, then deviates to the northeast, following in general the frontier determined by language and embracing German-West Hungary, the so-called "Burgenland."

Lundenburg, Feldsberg and Gmünd, some parts of Lower-Austria being given up to Czecho-Slovakia.

<sup>6</sup> For this and for the following see: "Flugschriften für Deutsch-Oesterreichs Recht," Vienna 1919.

<sup>7</sup> See: *Die Südgrenze der deutschen Steiermark*, memoir of the Academic Senate of the University of Graz, Graz 1919. The territory hemmed in by the frontier of the German language at Marburg, by the Bacher-range and a part of the frontier of Carinthia, is inhabited by 40,080 Germans (= 52.4 per cent) and 36,310 Slovenes (= 47.5 per cent). It is further remarkable, that this frontier cuts off the only direct railway communication (Leibnitz-Marburg-Klagenfurt) between the provinces of Styria and Carinthia which are separated by the 'Kor-Alp.' So the whole traffic between the inhabitants of these provinces must be carried through a foreign country, unless the people prefer to take the

The German town of St. Gotthard remains at Hungary; the frontier then takes its course to the north till it reaches the Neusiedler Sea. Excluding the German town, Güns, it turns a little eastward, north of the Einser Canal, but bends off northwards to the Danube without embracing the whole of the territory where the German language is spoken excluding, especially, the German towns of Wiesselburg and Ungarisch-Altenburg which like St. Gotthard and Güns have been only quite lately Magyarized. Finally, the frontier follows the Danube and the March.

#### GENERAL DECREASE IN POPULATION

The territory enclosed within these limits (excluding German-West Hungary which has not been surrendered to Austria and the plebiscite territory of Carinthia) covers an area of 83,944 kilometers. According to the census taken on January 31, 1920,<sup>8</sup> its population has diminished from 6,294,639 in the year 1910 to 6,067,430, i.e. by 227,209 persons or 3.61 per cent. The main share of this decline falls to the city of Vienna, the population of which has been reduced from 2,031,498 in the year 1910 to 1,842,005 in the year 1920, the reduction reaching the number of 189,493 persons or 9.33 per cent. We may best understand the importance of

round-about way via Graz and Bruck of Mur. Yet the Council of the Four generally made allowances in the interests of traffic even if against the principle of nationality. So for instance the Magyars were given over the wholly German territory of Wieselburg and Ungarisch-Altenburg (belonging to Western Hungary) to secure for them the railway-line from Raab to Pressburg, which is indeed of minor importance for them, than the above line (Leibnitz-Marburg-Klagenfurt) for Austria.

<sup>8</sup> See: *Beiträge zur Statistik der Republik Oesterreich*, Part 5, *Vorläufige Ergebnisse der ausserordentlichen Volkszählung vom 31. Jänner, 1920 nebst Gemeindeverzeichnis*. Published by the Central Commission for Statistics, Vienna 1920.

these statistic facts if we bear in mind that a healthy population living under normal conditions should increase. This increase amounted in the territory of the present Republic of Austria during the decade from 1900 to 1910, to 10.61 per cent annually, *i.e.* more than one per cent a year.<sup>9</sup> This statement of a decrease in the year 1920 not only implies the above-mentioned loss of a quarter of a million people, but beyond this it means at the same time an outweighing of the growth the populace must have shown in the pre-war period from 1911 to 1914. We must further consider the reduced

### MORTALITY

The figures below may allow us to form an idea of the natural evolution of the populace (*i.e.*, excluding those who died outside the frontiers of the Austrian Republic on the battlefields or in hospitals).<sup>11</sup>

The number of births has diminished from 153,542 in the last year of peace, 1913, to 87,594, or a decrease of 57.04 per cent, in the year 1918, the last in which these statistics have been published. Taking the sum of the yearly deficit in births we arrive at a total deficit of 227,514 births up to 1918.

BIRTH AND DEATH RATE 1913-1918

Year	Born alive	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths
1913 .....	153,542	118,363	35,179
1914 .....	151,862	119,462	32,400
1915 .....	118,942	140,211	21,269
1916 .....	94,199	136,402	42,203
1917 .....	87,599	147,384	59,785
1918 .....	87,594	166,378	78,784

birth-rate during the war and post-war time, which allows us the computing of the total war loss of this small country at nearly one million souls. The actual war losses due to military service form but a comparatively small part of this total. Including an appropriate quota of those reported "missing," they may be estimated at 160,000-170,000.<sup>10</sup> There must be added the increased mortality in the interior of the country due to the starvation blockade and the economic catastrophe following the War; then, the falling-off in the birth-rate owing to the absence of the men from their families, to the war casualties and, eventually, to losses by migration.

<sup>9</sup> Calculated after the *Oesterreichische Statistik* N. F. Vol. I, part 1, pages 29 and 36.

<sup>10</sup> See: W. Winkler *Die Totenverluste der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie nach Nationalitäten*, Vienna 1919.

On the other hand, the number of deaths increased during the same period from 118,363 to 166,378 or up to 140.56 per cent. This makes an excess of 118,022 deaths for the entire period under consideration. The deaths of military persons although included in these figures, contribute but little to them; for of the 325,000 deaths of military persons, who according to the army statistics have died of their wounds or of diseases at the hospitals, at least one-half occurred mainly on foreign soil at the front or along the military roads. Supposing the remainder of the wounded to be evenly distributed over the whole Monarchy, about 18,000 would fall to the share of the Republic of Austria, still leaving an excess of, at least, 100,000 civilian deaths. So, for instance, in Vienna, of which town we

<sup>11</sup> See: *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Oesterreich*, Vol. I, first year, Vienna 1920.

have specified figures, the number of deaths among civilians increased from 32,130 in the year 1913 to 44,130 in the year 1918. Among this number the deaths from tuberculosis amounted to 4,981 in the year 1913, to 7,381 in the year 1918 and to as many as 7,843 in the year 1919.<sup>12</sup> The influenza epidemic in 1918 had easy play with the population which had been weakened through lack of proper nourishment. Half of the inhabitants of the Austrian Republic were attacked by the disease and 20,458 persons succumbed to it.<sup>13</sup>

#### STRUCTURE OF POPULATION

Some of these changes in the population are made evident by a careful

At the age above fourteen there were 1,212 women to 1,000 men; in places with more than 2,000 inhabitants, we even find an average of 1,337 to 1,000. This proportion of the figures opens up bad matrimonial prospects for the young girls and a bad outlook for the future growth of the population. This structure of the population is also a disadvantage for the productivity of the Austrian Republic. While according to the United States census of 1910 there were in America but 91 women to every 100 men from twenty to sixty years of age, there were 109 women to every 100 men of that age in Austria. The proportion of the sexes alone, represented in an equal number of in-

#### INCREASE IN TUBERCULOSIS 1913-1918

	1913	1918
Cases of tuberculosis .....	5.97 per cent	7.60 per cent
Duration of illness from tuberculosis .....	240.10 days	336.50 days
Deaths from tuberculosis .....	0.04 per cent	0.93 per cent

consideration of the structure of the population according to the age of the inhabitants, as it would appear from a study of the census of 1920. It is true this does not clearly demonstrate the aforementioned mortality among civilians for, as a matter of fact, it has victimized individuals of every age and sex. On the other hand, we can easily gather from this census the casualties among all men able to bear arms and the heavy falling off of births. The decline of the male population is in the first place of great importance to the menaced evolution of the population.

<sup>12</sup> See: The publications of the Public Health Department at the Ministry for Social Administration: VIII, Siegfried Rosenfeld, *Die Wirkungen des Krieges auf die Sterblichkeit in Wien*, Vienna 1920 and XI, by the same author, *Die Aenderungen der Tuberkulosehäufigkeit Oesterreichs durch den Krieg*, Vienna 1920.

<sup>13</sup> Publications of the Public Health Department at the Ministry for Social Administration: XIII, Siegfried Rosenfeld, *Die Grippeepidemie des Jahres 1918 in Oesterreich*, Vienna 1921.

dividuals, ensures a greater working capacity in the United States than in Austria.

Yet we have so far considered only the number of deaths, not the disabled soldiers (about 180,000) and those whose health was impaired by the so-called starvation blockade.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, it is not only the mortality but also the morbidity which became appalling in consequence of the War. We find among every 100 subscribers to the health insurance in Vienna and Lower Austria<sup>15</sup> an increase in tuberculosis as shown above.

Similar increases took place with other kinds of diseases. The poor and helpless old men and women are special victims; the deaths caused by old age were increased, in Vienna for instance

<sup>14</sup> In spite of all these losses of working hands 84,000 unemployed were counted included in the census of the year 1920: *Beiträge zur Statistik der Republik Oesterreich*, Vol. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Rosenfeld, Publications, etc., XI, page 2.



from 1,542 in the year 1913 to 3,279 in the year 1918.<sup>16</sup>

#### THE CHILDREN AND THE AGE-PYRAMID

Not less deplorable but still much more serious if we contemplate the future of the Austrian population, is the health of the children. In an examination of 144,947 school children made by Professor Pirquet at the request of the American Help the Children Administration in the year 1920, only 30,594 equal to 21.1 per cent, were found to be well fed; 81,287, equal to 56.1 per cent, were marked as "ill-fed"; 33,066 children, or 22.8 per cent, were put down as "very ill-fed." Also in other towns of Austria measurements were made with similar unfavorable results.<sup>17</sup>

The health of the infants is a matter for even graver consideration. According to a report of Dr. Poerner at the Congress for Jugendfürsorge which met in Vienna in July, 1921, 85,000 children up to six years of age were

<sup>16</sup> Publications, etc., VIII, page 35.

<sup>17</sup> See: Friedrich Reischl, *Die amerikanische Kinderhilfsaktion in Wien*, Vol. I-III, Vienna 1921.

assigned for medical examination by the *Mutterberatungsstellen*, mothers advice councils, in the year 1920. Of these but 10 per cent were in the condition of normal nourishment, while the nourishment of 90 per cent was disturbed, 60 per cent being really ill. Children with infectious diseases were excluded from the examination. In 19 per cent of these cases one or both of the parents were ill; in  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, incurable.

Thus we may trace the terrible destitution working havoc at every stage of life and aggravating the heavy wounds inflicted by the War. The children forming the base of a once proud age-pyramid are growing up, small in numbers and shaken in health. Indeed an appalling outlook on future possibilities opens up before the observant eye should the present economic distress be allowed to continue. We will however not abandon ourselves to such gloomy aspects of the future; we will rather be confident of an improvement in the economic situation and hope for a more favorable evolution of the population.

## CHAPTER II

### The Present State of Agriculture and Forestry in the Republic of Austria

Compiled by the Central Board for the Protection of the Interests of Agriculture and Forestry

THE fundamental conditions of Austrian agriculture and the food supply closely connected with it, are in the first instance to be looked for in the orographic and climatic situation of the country. With the exception of a few small districts Austria is a mountainous land, with a prevailing continental and Alpine climate

Of a total area of about 7,785,295 hectare<sup>1</sup> nearly 800,000 are unproductive, so that only 7,000,000 hectare of the whole area are cultivated. Of these, 2,947,000 hectare are covered with forests, 1,274,000, with pastures, Alpine pastures, lakes, swamps and

<sup>1</sup> One hectare = 10,000 square meters = 2.471 acres.

ponds, and do not count for intensive cultivation. There remains only a comparatively small area of 2,770,000 hectare for intensive cultivation. Of these, again, 1,790,000 are arable soil, and the rest meadows, gardens and vineyards.

Austrian agriculture consists chiefly in the production of grain as far as permitted by the orographic and climatic conditions: namely, over an area of about 780,000 hectare; the greater portion of this area serves to grow rye. It may be well to remember that Western Hungary is not included in these figures, as this territory has so far not been actually united with the Austrian Republic.

A clearer insight into the alarming falling off in agricultural production may be gained if we point out how completely Austrian soil has been exhausted by the piratical system of tillage practised, of necessity, during the War. Between the years 1913 and 1919, the crops were estimated at from 35 to 40 per cent below normal. Official investigations in 1919 have shown a yield of only one-half the yield of grain in former times.

Although the experience of pre-war time would justify the hope of considerable improvement in the rentability of land, the fact remains that Austria will always be dependent on foreign imports of grain. That no effort is spared in bringing about such an improvement is demonstrated by an action inaugurated by the government and supported by a lively propaganda on the part of all agricultural bodies, especially the association of Austrian husbandmen (*Landwirstestelle*), to provide a cheap supply of all kinds of manure.

It goes without saying, that every importation of grain to meet the requirement of the Austrian populace means an enormous burden for the

public finances of Austria, in view of the present rate of the kronen exchange. This is why the government continues to control the production and trade in grain, even though such control doubtless means a serious impediment to the revival of agriculture. Since it compels the farmers to deliver a great percentage of their crops at government prices, which are far below those in the foreign markets, it is only natural that the peasants regard government control as a grave injustice and peril.

Now that the flour ration is so small the potato crops are of increasing importance. Official statistics show that, altogether, 97,000 hectare were utilized for growing potatoes in 1919. The potato crops have suffered a yet greater reduction than those of grain; this reduction may be estimated at about 50 per cent as compared with pre-war times. Great efforts were made to raise the home production. These resulted in the government's importing seed potatoes from abroad, chiefly from England, at a great sacrifice. The imported potatoes were handed over to the farmers together with the requisite quantities of artificial manure.

We may make a similar observation regarding leguminous plants, the importance of which has been augmented in proportion to the reduced rations of bread and flour. Austria lost her chief districts for growing leguminous plants when Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia were separated from her after the break-down. It must further be noted that according to official statistics the yield of leguminous plants had diminished by one-third during the war as compared with pre-war times.

From what has been said above, we may gather that the yields of Austrian soil will never entirely suffice to meet the requirements at home even

if we admit the possibility of an improvement in the future by proper tillage and investment of capital. The future hopes of Austria concerning agriculture are founded on the breeding of cattle, for which the conditions are much more favorable. Here we may be allowed to point out the large stretches of pasture in the Alps, the favorable climate for breeding strong and hardy cattle and the training of the cattle farmers, which dates back some hundreds of years.

Unfortunately, here as elsewhere, the War with its compulsory delivery produced great damage, less affecting the quantity than the quality of the live stock. A great diminution is to be observed in the number of horses; by the official statistics, only 230,000 horses were counted in the Republic of Austria in 1919, while at that time there were 1,950,000 head of horned cattle, of which 550,000 were young cattle. A considerable increase is shown in the number of goats which reached 289,000 in 1919, that is about 50,000 more than in pre-war times; likewise in the number of sheep, with 316,000 head against 290,000 head in pre-war times. The stock of pigs is to be estimated at 1,100,000 head against 1,800,000 before the war.

As mentioned above, the qualitative loss was more apparent. The fact that the present live stock is not full-grown and that the number of animals used in the yoke, such as horses and oxen, has been reduced, is of the gravest import to Austrian farming. Another difficulty is the obstacle to breeding added by the indiscriminate requisitions during the long years of the War, which often deprived the farmers of their best breeding material. Moreover, the complete stoppage of transport for other than military purposes prevented the exchange of cattle, so that in-

breeding was favored to an appalling degree. Even during the first period of peace, the great difficulties in procuring food caused the provinces, the districts and the communities within them to set up barriers against the export of cattle. Only quite recently has it proved possible in many instances to remove some of these measures of isolation. It may, however, be expected that the mutual intercourse between the various districts, so important to a cattle breeding country, will revive again. But even then cattle breeding will suffer great difficulties from the want of concentrated forage.

In conclusion, we may say that in all branches of agriculture there is a large disparity between supply and demand, and that Austrian agriculture will never be in a position to supply sufficient food for the people although, thanks to incessant labor, improvement has already commenced and a further improvement may be expected.

#### THE FORESTRY SITUATION IN AUSTRIA

The prospects of forestry are a little more favorable. An area of three million hectare of Austrian soil are covered with forests, so that about 38 per cent of the total area of Austria is devoted to forestry. We should, however, be induced to form very erroneous notions of Austrian wealth in wood if we forget to add that according to official statistics about 20 per cent of these forests are either inaccessible or declared a sort of preserves, *Servituten*, wherein no trees may be felled. We must therefore first eliminate this fairly large portion of the forests before contemplating the chances of utilizing the wood. The exploitation of about 20 per cent of Austrian forests is partly conceded to the peasants on the strength of the right of *Servitut* and therefore the gen-

erally available production is limited.

If wood may rightly be called the principal article for export in Austria, one must not forget that continuation of this export has been possible only on account of the large stock which had accumulated thanks to the conservative forestry system of pre-war times. Owing to this large reserve stock Austria is still able to export wood despite its being used as fuel to a much greater extent than before. It will soon follow, as a matter of course, that highly valuable timber will have to be used as fuel and great damage will ensue to the economics of the Republic.

The efforts of the Austrian Government have been so far successful in bringing about an improvement of the coal supply of the country. There is reason to hope, therefore, that the prophesied economic harm may not result but that, on the contrary, Austria's natural riches in wood may in the future suffice to meet the demands both foreign and domestic.

The problem of recolonization has developed as a consequence of the injurious effects of the repeated selling out of small farms, which had fallen into trouble, by the great landed proprietors. The dimensions to which this so-called *Bauernlegung*, selling out of peasant farms, has grown, may be gathered from the fact that within the last fourteen years over 12,000

smaller farms have been assimilated by the great landed estates. The colonization law (*Wiederbesiedlungsgesetz*) of the year 1919 slipped a bolt, here, by decreeing that under certain conditions all such farms or cottages as could be worked individually and had been independent since 1870, should be returned to the farmers who had formerly been on them. Naturally the preparatory work took some time, so that the lists of the farms fit for colonization were finished only in June, 1921. An idea of the number of farms concerned may be gathered from the fact that in 240 communities of Lower Austria, alone, 1,100 farms have been entered in the registers. The opposition of the great landed proprietors has been so far vanquished by the pressure brought to bear on it by the peasants that in many cases they were ready to enter into negotiations with the peasantry. This peaceful adjustment serves to accelerate the enforcement of the colonization law, since the long investigation of the colonization commissions and the delays caused by remonstrances, which might be raised in the course of the legal procedure, may be thus avoided.

By such measures Austrian agriculture may soon be intensified, a development which, in the light of the preceding statements, is a consummation to be sincerely wished by every Austrian.

### CHAPTER III

## The Water Power Question in Austria

By DR. FRIEDRICH HERTZ

Vienna

AUSTRIA'S poverty in coal is partly compensated by the abundance of her water power; nor is the statement correct, though so often repeated, that

Austria has as yet made no real use of this natural resource. There are now in existence innumerable old power stations beside many modern installa-



tions. Nevertheless, Austria certainly does appear behindhand compared with the progress made in hydro-electricity by Scandinavia, Switzerland, Italy and France. The reason for this is that in the old days coal could be obtained to such advantage from Ostrau and Upper Silesia that many factory owners shied at the considerable outlay of capital involved in the installation of water power. The utilization of water power is in itself a lengthy and costly process, and the lack of capital in a war-worn country is a great obstacle in the way of the realization of extensive schemes.

#### ESTIMATES OF WATER POWER PROSPECTS

The various estimates of the power available differ considerably according to the extent of the power included. As a rule, the estimates include only the larger sources of water power; some are based on low water, others, on a medium water, etc. The water power prospects of the Austrian Alps have been thoroughly investigated by many experts, official and otherwise, and extremely valuable and practical information is at the disposal of anyone interested. The State Hydrographical Central Bureau has prepared a schedule of most of the water courses, giving statistics and diagrams of all hydrological and other data appropriate for the development of water power. The various sheets of this schedule may be bought singly. Moreover, the management of the State Railways has for years been studying the utilization of water power and the adaptation of the railways to electricity, and its investigations have likewise yielded an almost complete description of the chief sources of water power. The principal results are contained in the report, "*Mitteilungen über die Studien zur Ausnützung der Wasserkräfte*"

(Government Printing Office, 1917). The Appendix to this valuable work contains a list of 433 important sources of water power in the Alps, indicating their respective HP capacity.

The result of these investigations on the part of the State Railways Administration was the conclusion that in the Alpine regions then belonging to Austria, about 3 million HP of water power were available which could be usefully employed under the economic conditions then prevailing; of these only 250,000 HP (*i.e.* only 8 per cent) were at that time already in use. It must further be remembered that the enormous increase in the price of coal which exceeds the increase in the cost of building, has enlarged the possibilities of profitably installing hydraulic power. Under existing conditions, water power may be used with advantage which would not previously have paid, and the financial possibilities have altogether increased. The reason for these altered conditions is that about half the cost of installing hydraulic power consists of wages, which have not increased to the same extent as the price of coal, which has to be paid for in foreign currency.

On the other hand, the figure of 3 million HP has been reduced, as important sources of water power are situated in the territories ceded under the Peace Treaty. In particular, the German part of the Southern Tyrol, which has fallen to Italy's share, is a district very rich in water power; also, the German districts of Marburg, which fell to the share of Jugo-Slavia, and of Südmähren, which went to the Czechs, possess valuable water power. If we reckon up the sources of Alpine water power examined by the Administration of State Railways that now remain within the restricted frontiers of Austria, the result is a mean yield of about 1.4 millions a year. How-

ever, as the estimate does not include many smaller sources of power, and as the district to the north of the Danube also contains considerable water power, *the total available water power of German Austria worth using would give a mean annual yield of about 2.5 millions.<sup>1</sup>*

#### WATER POWER FOR COAL REPLACEMENT

If we accept the figure, customary in industry, of 3,000 hours' use, we arrive at the conclusion that, theoretically, *all the water power of Austria, fully utilized, would provide a substitute for 7.5 million tons of black coal, or about 11.25 million tons of lignite, i.e., considerably the greater part of the quantity of coal which Austria is now obliged to import.* This calculation does not regard the fact that many water powers can be used twenty-four hours a day which, of course, increases still further the quantity of coal replaceable.

According to official estimates, about 7 million tons of coal, at present used to provide power and light for railways and industries, could at once be replaced by means of water power; whereas, the coal required for heat for industrial purposes (1.5 million tons) and for household use (4.2 million tons) could be replaced by electricity only if the price of coal were extremely high, and even then could be only partially replaced.<sup>2</sup> For the present, it is prob-

able that gas will be used mostly for cooking, as this is the best way of making complete use of coal, whereas gas lighting will gradually give way to electric lighting.

Unfortunately, however, the practical realization of this object cannot be expected in the immediate future. Even before the war, when Austria was comparatively rich in capital, it seemed impossible to raise funds for carrying out an extensive program for the development of water power.

The steep descent of the Alpine streams makes high pressure installations possible, and these are for the most part cheaper and quicker of installation than the low pressure installations on streams and rivers of the plains. However, even the best high pressure stations of our Alps produce their energy at greater cost than the large stations on the seacoast of Norway and Dalmatia, which must therefore be regarded as important competitors on the world market in electro-chemical products which necessitate large quantities of the cheapest current.

Under existing conditions matters have taken a turn in favor of Austria. For many years now, a few large electro-chemical undertakings, aluminum, calcium carbide, iron products, nitric acid, calcium nitrate, etc., have established themselves in the Austrian Alps and are working with good results. With the help of electro-chemistry, Austria would be able to replace

<sup>1</sup> Proof that the investigations of the Administration of State Railways have not exhausted all the water power resources is provided by the example of the Danube, which appears on the list with only three stages with a total yield of 242,000 HP. Even if only a small amount of water is withdrawn from the Austrian part of the Danube the power obtainable may be estimated as at least half a million HP; optimists have given even higher estimates.

<sup>2</sup> A thorough and practical study of the Swiss electrical works (c. f. *Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift* 1919, Vol. 40, 41) has led to the conclusion that 1 kilogram of good coal used in a reliable central heating installation equals 4 to 5 kilowatt

hours; used in a good separate stove, 1.8 to 2 kilowatt hours; in ordinary inferior separate stoves, 1 to 1.2 kilowatt hours. Further, experience has shown that cooking by electricity is not more costly than gas cooking, if one kilowatt hour for cooking purposes costs half to one-third of one cubic metre of gas. According to this, the use of water power for heating might be a sound economic proposition even in Vienna under present conditions. This is particularly applicable in cases where cheap night current is available and where the heat can be stored.

many raw materials from abroad, which the present rate of exchange has placed almost beyond her reach.

The water power available in the Alps is subject to considerable fluctuations according to the season, and it is difficult to balance these fluctuations. The construction of reservoirs for preserving the water against drought is for the most part impracticable in the Alps, which are limestone, because the geological formation of the substrata and of the sides of the valleys would make the construction of the walls of the reservoirs very difficult, and, further, because the large quantities of rubble carried along by the Alpine streams would fill up the tanks. In this respect, the districts to the north of the Danube, which are on primeval rock, are better, as they offer a solid foundation and smaller deposits of silt. But even in the Alps there are parts where lakes or other suitable spots can be used for storing water, and the Administration of State Railways is now studying the possibilities of utilizing several such suitable localities.

#### ELECTRIFICATION PROJECT OF THE STATE RAILWAYS ADMINISTRATION

The former administration of the Austrian State Railways had already secured twenty-four water power stations, with a mean annual yield of 125,000 HP, beside a number of options with a view to the electrification of the Alpine railway. Twenty of these power stations are within the territory of the Austrian Republic. The existing Austrian State Railways require electricity to the extent of about 116,000 HP mean annual yield.

The lengthy investigations of the Administration of State Railways have before the War often been deprecated as being an obstacle in the way of the utilization of water power. Since the electrification of the railways of-

fered formerly no financial advantages in view of the prices then ruling for coal, and since, moreover, the Army Staff objected to it from the military point of view, the Administration of Railways was not in a position to proceed with the work, nor could it release the water power to private enterprise. Now these obstacles have ceased to exist and the Administration of State Railways has worked out an extensive program for the electrification of the Alpine railways,<sup>3</sup> which is already being carried out.

The Railways Administration has demonstrated by figures that the execution of the scheme would introduce considerable economies in coal, engines and coal trucks, staff and time, thus making the whole traffic cheaper, more regular, quicker and capable of increased business; moreover travelling would become pleasanter. The idea is, in the first place, to electrify the Western State Railways, traffic on which is most important, and which represent 40 per cent of the mileage and 50 per cent of the coal consumption of the State Railways. It would take from twelve to thirteen years to complete the adaptation. Five of these lines would be worked upon first, representing 14.6 per cent of the State Railway system. This would mean an annual saving of 400,000 tons of coal (at 4,500 calories) *i.e.*, about 12 per cent of the total requirement of the State Railways and 5 per cent of the total requirement of Austria. Given favorable conditions, the electrification of these five lines might be completed in about five or six years. The cost for these lines is calculated at 5.1 million kronen, and the annual saving of coal at 327 to 424 million kronen. Of course all these cal-

<sup>3</sup> C. f. the very valuable statements affixed to the draft of a law concerning the introduction of electricity and motive power for railways, etc. 1920, which gives a full survey of the matter.

culations are very uncertain, as future price developments cannot be foreseen. The requirement of power will be covered by the development of certain works in Vorarlberg, Tyrol and Salzburg.

#### WATER-COAL SUBSTITUTION SCHEMES IN VIENNA

The most urgent question, however, is to substitute coal in Vienna and the surrounding industrial area of Lower Austria. More than half the population is contained in Lower Austria, besides two-thirds of the heating surface of all the boilers of the country. Of the rest of the population and of the boilers, about half is contained in Styria. But whereas Styria is rich in coal and water power, and whereas the remaining provinces can easily be connected with certain power stations, Vienna presents a more difficult problem. The energy generated in the Alps can be transmitted to Vienna only at great expense and with great loss of current. The most suitable plan would be to use the water power of the upper Enns (about 79,000 HP mean yield); its energy could be transmitted to Vienna by means of a 170 kilometer transmission line. Up to the present, however, the province of Styria, in whose territory this installation would come, has opposed this course in order to reserve the power for Styrian industry. This attitude is a sign of regrettable local interests, for Styria can cover her requirement from plenty of other streams, whereas Vienna has no such choice. Quite recently, however, Styria seems to have modified her attitude.

The city of Vienna has in consequence of these difficulties decided, in the first place, to develop the water power of the upper Ybbs (13,000 HP mean yield), and to connect with this a smaller station Kienberg-Gaming (about 5,900 HP). The 120 kilometer

transmission line of the Ybbs station (110,000 volt tension) is being adapted to yield 35,000 HP, and the situation of the locality makes it possible, if desired, later to connect with it part of the power of the Enns, should the present difficulties be overcome. The time it will take to get the Ybbs Station in working order is calculated at three to four years, and for the Enns Station, five to six years; an advantage of the combination of both works is that their respective low water periods set in at different times of year. It is further designed to bring the above mentioned transmission in connection with the project of Persenbeug (a loop of the Danube with a mean yield of 7,200 HP) and with the Lunz coal mines at present about to be opened by the city of Vienna. The scheme, therefore, promises to make use of a quite substantial amount of power within a comparatively short time. Further it should be remembered that the power of the Ybbs can be accumulated by means of the Lunz Lake and by blocking the valley, to compensate for the variations in the flow of the water and achieve a regular supply of current. In any case, this scheme seems to hold much more promise than, for instance, the daring project of the Krems-Kamp Works (continuous annual yield of 27,000 HP), which would involve unduly great technical difficulties, or the power stations of the Thaya and the Drau, which it was formerly thought might be used for supplying Vienna, but which are now in Czech or Jugo-Slav territory.

Nevertheless, there are various objections to the development of the water power of the Ybbs, these objections being raised by the adherents of the Danube scheme, who are afraid that the execution of the less ambitious project would indefinitely postpone installation of the much larger Danube



works. They state that, if the standing annual requirement of Vienna were covered by these smaller works, there would be no prospect of developing the important water power of the Danube for the remaining irregular requirements, which vary considerably, since this would not be a financially paying proposition.

#### THE DANUBE AND OTHER PROJECTS

The Danube, it is true, would be capable of supplying an enormous quantity of power, and there are in existence a large number of schemes, in a state more or less developed. The Wallsee scheme, in Upper Austria, is the only one which is ripe for execution. Its mean yield would be 140,000 HP at a rate of 1,350 cubic metres per second; the energy could be transmitted to Vienna by means of a conduction 130 kilometers in length. This scheme entails the building of a dam on the Danube and has given rise to many objections on account of the danger of floods and ice. The concession for the work has, however, been granted upon such conditions as would appear to avoid these dangers and the interests of shipping have also been fully protected in the concession.

All the other Danube projects have been designed without the necessity of a dam, *i.e.*, with free flow of the stream. This has the advantage of avoiding the construction of a dam, which would be a lengthy and costly process; but, on the other hand, the water works would be dependent upon the state of the stream, so that there would be greater fluctuations, and very long canals and expensive constructions for regulating the current would be necessary.

In the Lower Austrian district, between Krems and March alone (*i.e.*, a reach of 120 kilometers long from Vienna) a maximum yield of 160,000 HP, or an annual mean yield of 140,-

000 HP, could be obtained without any prejudice to shipping; and this is calculating drawing water from the Danube only at the rate of about 400 cubic metres per second. The Communal Building Office of Vienna estimates the cost of construction at 211 to 270 million gold kronen.

The advantage of most of the Danube works consists in the large quantities of power they can extract, of the fact that they do not necessitate long conductions (in the case of the Lower Austrian reaches of the river) and of the fact that the necessary canals can be quickly dug by mechanical means and by unskilled labor.

The disadvantages, on the other hand, are as follows: great fluctuations in the flow of the stream; the necessity of a very long time for construction; danger to shipping by reduction of the quantity of water in the river and the accumulation of gravel in consequence of decreased carrying power. The last disadvantage can certainly be obviated by regulation of the stream and by dredging, but this would increase the expense. Whether power from the Danube would be cheaper or more expensive than the Alpine high pressure works mentioned above is doubtful. The Vienna Communal Building Office assumes that Danube horse power would be somewhat more expensive than high pressure power. It is generally found that low pressure power is dearer because it requires a larger quantity of water, and therefore the canals, sluices, machines, etc., have to be constructed on a larger scale. On the other hand, the high pressure works under consideration have the disadvantage of necessitating very costly tunnelling and boring and very long transmissions. The time needed and the expenses entailed by the Danube works depend chiefly upon whether a sufficient number of dredg-

ers and enough other building apparatus, trucks, etc., are available.

#### TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN AND WATER POWER DEVELOPMENT

In this connection, we must refer to Article 298 of the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, which prescribes that the interests of water power development are actually to take precedence of the requirement of shipping, but only on condition that a full agreement has been reached by all the States through which the river runs and which are represented on the Danube Commission. It is now feared that there may be some among these States which have no interest in freeing Austria from its dependence upon foreign sources of coal supply. *It is of the greatest importance that this question should be cleared up as soon as possible.* The Peace Treaty further provides for a Court of Arbitration to be appointed by the League of Nations with authority to deal with questions of this kind.

Before the War, Austria had introduced a complete reform of water rights and of electricity laws, representing the most modern point of view. The War, however, and the internal political situation put a stop to this reform. The local interest of the various states forms a barrier to uniformity of laws; besides, various states wish to use the water power available as much as possible for local purposes. But we may hope that in the end purely economic and commercial considerations will win the day. The individual states simply do not command the money to execute elaborate schemes without the help of the federal exchequer and of the financial institutions of Vienna. In Switzerland, for instance, the rivalries between the different Cantons caused similar difficulties; but in the end they did not

put a stop to the development of water power.

It is of primary importance that the law governing sources of electrical energy shall at last be settled, as otherwise the construction of long-distance transmissions is exposed to local obstructions and petty hindrances. It must further be considered whether in order to save coal industrial undertakings should not be compelled by law to make use of the electric power to be generated.

The Finance Ministry is encouraging the development of water power by allowing substantial dispensation from taxation. Several bills have been passed to this effect. Foreign capital invested in such undertakings will be free of capital levy, and all capital so invested will receive great advantages as to amortization. In any case, an extensive scheme for the development of water power can rely on the Austrian Finance Ministry for full approval and support.

#### WATER POWER—A PROSPECT FOR FOREIGN CAPITAL

To summarize the preceding remarks, it may be said that all legal and technical facilities for the most extensive development of water power in Austria are provided, and, further, that *the financial prospects for foreign capital are particularly favorable.* The immense increase in the price of coal has turned the tables in favor of water power, and even such water power stations as would hardly have been able to compete with coal before the War are now in a much more favorable financial position than coal power stations. While the price of coal has increased 120 to 150 fold, the cost of construction has risen only about 100 fold. Before the War the construction of one HP cost from 600 to 1,000 kronen. Moreover the dollar rate of

exchange has risen so enormously *that at the present rate of exchange American capital could develop the water power of Austria at about one-half of the expense in dollars that such an undertaking would have entailed in pre-war days.*

Austrian water power, therefore, can offer much better inducements in the international market than has ever been the case before; further, it could undoubtedly be used for the develop-

ment of an important electro-chemical industry and other such products as would find a good market on account of the low price at which they could be exported, *so that the foreign capital invested in the development of Austrian water power would also earn interest in foreign currency.* Such investments would be of inestimable advantage to Austria's whole economic situation.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Coal Supply of Austria After the Revolution of 1918

By RUDOLF KLOSS, D.L.L.

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**T**HE Revolution at the end of 1918 completely upset the coal supply of Austria. The most important coal districts of Austria, the brown coal district of Northwestern Bohemia, the gas, coal and coke district of Ostrau-Karwin, the district of Trifail, fell to the Succession States, which immediately imposed hard conditions on the export of coal.

In Upper Silesia, which supplied most of the coal needed in Austria, the output was reduced to but a small fraction of its normal extent and therefore only quantities quite inadequate to the demand could be spared for Austria. The supplies from the Ruhr-Saar valley on which the western provinces of Austria (the Alpine Montan-Gesellschaft in particular) depended for coke for their blast-furnaces, ceased entirely.

So Austria had to fall back on her own coal production which has at all times come short of the demand and suffered a further reduction through the Revolution. Her inland coal, being

brown coal, lignite, was of inferior quality. It was clear, then, that the coal supply of the new Republic had to undergo a process of reconstruction under greatly changed circumstances.

#### DISTURBANCE OF COAL IMPORT DUE TO POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The unfavorable situation of the coal problem was further aggravated by the political conditions at home and abroad. The dismemberment of the old Monarchy into the several National States dealt a heavy blow to the competence of the central authorities. This made itself specially felt with regard to the coal supply. Some of the provinces took the coal administration into their own hands. But the economic pressure of those days caused not only the provinces but also some of the town and district councils, workmen's and soldiers' councils, military bodies and subordinate railway authorities to proceed independently in the coal question; they laid embargoes on all coal they could get.

Similar conditions in the neighboring countries also added to the difficulties of the import of coal, whether the governments of these countries closed the frontiers, or whether subordinate railway authorities arbitrarily laid embargoes on coal destined for export to Austria, some of them in order to secure their own demand, some only in demonstration of their national feeling.

Especially the coal transports through Czecho-Slovakia, through which country all the coal from Upper Silesia has to pass on its way to Austria, continued to suffer disturbance for a long time. Often the frontiers were even completely closed, as when the bank notes were being stamped with a view to nationalization or when the warlike conflict raged between Czecho-Slovakia and Poland over the division of the plebiscite district of Teschen. Over and over again, even up to the present day, the precarious and inadequate coal supply of Austria

has had to cope with like disturbances, forcing many industries to reduce the working hours and hampering their steady development. Just at present Austria has to do without pit coal from Upper Silesia owing to the political troubles which began on May 1 of this present year.

#### REQUIREMENTS AND HOME OUTPUT

The monthly requirements of fuel in Austria are divided according to the various groups of consumers as shown below.

These fuel requirements have to be met by the home product and by importation.

The Austrian *home output* of coal amounted to 228,925 tons a month in 1913, the last year of peace; it sank to 150,000 tons, *i.e.* 12 per cent of the requirements, after the Revolution. It must also be remembered that the inland coal is nearly all brown coal (lignite), pit coal being produced only in

MONTHLY FUEL REQUIREMENTS FOR AUSTRIA

<i>Groups of consumers</i>	<i>Coal</i>	<i>Coke</i>	<i>Total</i>
Transport .....	388,800	2,560	391,360
Vienna metropolitan gas work .....	66,000	.....	66,000
	38,350	.....	38,350
Gas, water and electrical plants in the provinces .....	12,250	.....	12,250
Private consumers in Vienna .....	156,300	15,500	171,800
Private consumers in the provinces .....	141,700	14,100	155,800
Agriculture .....	4,500	.....	4,500
Food industries .....	30,100	1,700	31,800
Iron, and steel foundries .....	148,790	83,250	231,990
Requirements of the coal-mines .....	25,800	.....	25,800
Other mines .....	17,400	1,500	18,900
Salt works .....	11,600	.....	11,600
Chemical industries .....	36,500	4,200	40,700
Glass industries and potteries .....	14,900	100	15,000
Building materials .....	58,100	5,380	63,480
Tobacco manufactories .....	1,450	80	1,530
Textile industries .....	28,200	1,400	29,600
Leather industries .....	5,100	300	5,400
Paper industries .....	35,000	100	35,100
Wood, and other industries .....	1,500	300	1,800
Total .....	1,222,280	130,470	1,352,750



trifling quantities. Yet the inland coal is the only coal which Austria really has at her disposal.

#### GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO INCREASE DOMESTIC COAL OUTPUT

Therefore the Austrian government is giving its best attention to the home production. In the first instance, the government tried to stimulate the development of the existing coal mines and the establishment of new mining enterprises. Unfortunately, all investments had in consequence of the prevailing coal shortage to encounter the greatest difficulties, as the industries which should have supplied the machinery and other materials required could be worked only temporarily.

One of the chief reasons for the diminution of the coal output was the decrease of the working capacity of the miners by the bad food situation. The Coal Department of the Board of Trade, therefore, induced the government to grant the miners the privilege of considerably better food supplies on condition of more efficient work. For an intensification of their work by 10 per cent as compared to the work done in the first quarter of 1920 and for the performance of one Sunday-shift a month, the miners are granted premiums in the shape of foodstuffs at very low prices, the premiums being raised to conform to a further increase of the work, finally approaching the food supply of pre-war times, should the increase reach 20 per cent. For additional Sunday-shifts the miners receive premiums in the shape of clothing.

By all these measures gradual increase of the home production of coal was made possible. The coal output amounted to not over 156,000 tons a month in the year 1919. These measures raised it to 197,000 tons in January, 1920, and it had already reached

the peace output with 229,000 tons in January, 1921. These figures have since been even a little surpassed.

#### DIMINUTION IN PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF SUPPLY

But the first place in the coal supply of Austria must be left to the *import of coal from abroad*, especially from Czecho-Slovakia and Germany. Czecho-Slovakia, which had supplied Austria with 35 per cent of her coal requirements in 1913, placed exportation under very hard conditions immediately after the Revolution. Therefore negotiations on behalf of the continuity of the coal supply were begun immediately. For political reasons these negotiations turned out to be extremely difficult. It must be continually borne in mind that the regulation of the Austrian coal supply has always been hampered by political problems. At present, Austria gets 140,000 tons of coal a month, *i.e.* about 40 per cent of the quantities received in peace time, from Czecho-Slovakia, conforming to a contract of compensation.

Another country of importance for the coal supply of Austria is Germany, the territories that form the new Austria having obtained from Germany, especially from Upper Silesia and to a smaller extent also from the Ruhr and Saar districts, 360,000 tons of pit coal a month. After the Revolution the supplies from the last mentioned districts were stopped absolutely. In Upper Silesia the output was reduced to one-sixth of the pre-war output, partly by labor troubles, and partly by the lack of means of transport, as Germany was compelled by the terms of the Armistice to give a large part of her engines and other transport facilities to the Allied Powers. For some time therefore, the export to Austria had to be nearly suspended. Only gradually after the hauling conditions had im-

proved could deliveries to Austria be increased.

On the occupation of Upper Silesia by the Interallied Plebiscite Commission in 1920, the quantities of coal to be delivered from Upper Silesia to Austria were fixed by the Reparation Commission in Paris at 200,000 tons a month. This quantity was always fully delivered up to May 1 of the present year when the supplies were stopped, owing to the political troubles in Upper Silesia.

Finally, Austria gets the comparatively trifling quantity of 13,500 tons a month, in accordance with a compensation treaty, from Poland.

In addition, some smaller quantities are being brought in to Austria beyond the contingents fixed by treaties, especially from Czecho-Slovakia. The output of brown coal of inferior quality in Czecho-Slovakia has constantly surpassed the demand, leaving a surplus for export, on all of which an export duty was imposed.

The provision of American or English pit coal, offered for sale in any quantity, has so far proved impossible, its price being prohibitive in consequence of the depreciation of the Austrian exchange. In Vienna, the price of Czecho-Slovakian brown coal amounts to about 3,000 kronen, the price of pit coal from Upper Silesia, to 4,500 kronen per ton, while the price of the American pit coal is nearly 10,000 kronen, a price the Austrian industry cannot pay, threatened as it is by foreign competition.

Altogether, Austria had a quantity of 6,490,789 tons of coal at her disposal in the year 1920, *i.e.*, 540,000 tons a

month, just 41 per cent of her total requirements. The coal situation was, therefore, extremely hard, especially during last winter.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF DIMINUTION IN SUPPLY

The inevitable consequence of this insufficient supply and of the frequent stoppages of importation were repeated restrictions of the tram service and a very scanty supply for the most urgent public needs such as food industries, gas and power works, hospitals and household fuel, even kitchen fires. The population was often exposed to the direst distress, and the laboring classes to the greatest unrest owing to unemployment.

Most hopeless was the plight of the metropolis, Vienna. Here the gas and power works as well as the tram service had to undergo decisive restrictions, and private households were limited to the consumption of one cubic meter of gas and one hectowatt of electricity a day only. In Vienna, the allowance for kitchen fires per week and household is only seven kilos (about 15 lbs.). A more liberal supply to the 540,000 households in Vienna could be granted only if there were much larger quantities of coal on hand.

Though the coal situation of Austria has gradually improved as compared with the awful plight immediately after the Revolution, the quantities of coal at her disposal are not nearly sufficient to allow a return to normal economic life. Only by considerably raising the import from abroad and by securing its regular delivery can anything like a lasting improvement be produced.

## CHAPTER V

## The Public Finances of the Republic of Austria

By DR. EMANUEL HUGO VOGEL

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THE public finances of Austria reflect the situation to which that country has been reduced by the Treaty of St. Germain. After the dissolution of the former economic unit of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Alpine provinces, lacking coal, mineral oils, etc., and chiefly dependent on importations from abroad for agricultural products and the most necessary commodities, remained with the newly founded Austrian Republic; while the larger part of the territories boasting of great riches in raw materials and manufactures fell to Czecho-Slovakia. Austrian manufactures are taking great pains to resume their former economic relations with the other Succession States, but industry and commerce continue to be much hampered in their development by reciprocal customs boundaries and restrictions on both import and export trade. And these difficulties, bad as they are, are outweighed by the terrible depreciation of the currency, which, on the one hand, causes the import trade to become one of the heaviest burdens on the public finances and national economy, and, on the other, compels the other countries to erect a customs frontier against the natural export tendency of Austria. As long as the Austrian currency is not raised to a standard averaging from 7 to 8 kronen relatively to one Swiss franc, by the help of credits granted by the League of Nations, Austria will not be in a position to exchange goods with the surrounding National Succession States on the same terms as Czecho-Slovakia and Germany.

So long as these conditions continue, a revival of Austrian economic energies is quite out of the question. All measures concerning credits which do not tend to raise the kronen exchange, *previous* to the introduction of a new currency, to the above-named standard, or at least to a standard considerably facilitating trade and commerce (from about four to five kronen to one Swiss franc), must in the end become a vain sacrifice and could have but a transient effect. The awful consequences of the deep currency depreciation are demonstrated by the Austrian budget.

## THE BUDGET

The currency depreciation is one of the principal causes of the appalling height of the deficit and the expenditure figures. According to the latest budget for the second half of 1921, the balance between the relation of revenue and expenditure appears in Table I.

The figures of the table alone serve to show the cause to which the half-yearly deficit of 25.4 billions kronen (yearly deficit over 50 billions) is to be ascribed. It is the consequence of the currency depreciation and of the dearth of imports occasioned by it. The loss comes in consequence of the deterioration of the rate of exchange which has been calculated at the rate of 100 Austrian kronen equal to one Swiss franc, though the rate of exchange has since become still more unfavorable in spite of the action planned by the League of Nations. The result has been a loss of 10,380 millions kronen on the government

TABLE I

RELATION BETWEEN REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, JANUARY 7-DECEMBER 31, 1921

*Million Kronen Percentage*

## I. Expenditure

Loss in consequence of the deterioration of the rate of exchange:	1 State-monopolies.....	2,184.16	16.2
	2 Railways.....	1,755.69	
	3 Public debts.....	2,337.70	
	4 Government contribution to the private pre-war debts according to the Treaty of St. Germain.....	1,960.00	
	5 Government contribution towards the payment of foodstuff prices.	10,286.00	21.0
	6 Other government contributions in administration and enterprises.	395.45	0.8
	TOTAL.....	18,913.00	38.0
National debt services (interest and redemption).....		2,282.30	4.0
Civil service and pensions fund.....		14,117.10	29.0
	TOTAL.....	35,312.40	71.0
Other sundry expenditure.....		14,184.10	29.0
Total of expenditure.....		49,496.50	100.0

*Million Kronen Percentage*

## II. Gross-revenue

Capital levy.....	500.00	2.0
"Income tax" (assessed according to the income of the tax payer).....	868.60	5.0
Other direct taxes.....	409.30	
Customs.....	2,895.30	12.0
Excise.....	790.10	3.0
Stamps and other similar duties.....	1,962.00	8.0
TOTAL.....	7,425.30	30.0
Monopolies.....	5,194.00	22.0
Government enterprises.....	6,530.50	27.0
Export licenses.....	900.00	21.0
Realization of government property and loans.....	2,033.00	
Other revenues.....	1,992.30	
Total of revenue.....	24,075.10	100.0
Deficit.....	25,421.40	



imports of foodstuffs; *i.e.*, the government paid per head of the population in one year, 3,200 kronen, in order to reduce the price of foodstuffs (flour, meat, fat, milk). The low exchange rate is also to be held responsible for losses on other imports, especially on coal for the railways and material for the tobacco monopoly, losses amounting to 8,633 millions kronen in half a year. Altogether, 18,913 millions kronen in half a year and 37.8 billions in a year, that is 38 per cent of the total expenditure or 74 per cent of the deficit, is accounted for by these losses. Could the Austrian krone be raised to two Swiss centimes the above named sum of 18.9 billions would be reduced to about 9.456; with a rise to four or five Swiss centimes, the loss in consequence of the deterioration of the exchange would play no part at all in the budget. This shows quite clearly the importance of a serious and efficient foreign credit action.

#### CIVIL SERVICE EXPENDITURE

But the most distressing effects of the currency depreciation have fallen on the civil service and pensions expenditure which has reached a pitch quite disproportionate to a small country. This division of the expenditure, including the salaries of employes and workmen in public enterprises, amounts to more than 14 billions kronen for half a year or to 28 billions kronen for the whole year. As it has since been found necessary to raise salaries, this sum added to the government contributions towards the civil service expenditure of the provinces and their capitals, will actually come to 37 billions kronen a year. However, one must not forget that a large part of the civil service expenditure falls not to the share of the government administration but to national enterprises, as the whole railway system has been

nationalized. Of the above mentioned 14 billions for the six months estimated, 4,467 millions fall to the share of the railways, 1,146 to that of the post, telegraph and telephone, 1,050 to the subsidies for the provinces and municipalities. Even the army estimate (30,000 men and officers) which amounts to 914 millions half-yearly is included in this figure. All these expenditure figures can be rightly understood only when compared with the dearth provoked by the currency depreciation.

On the average, the civil servants' pay still falls short of the often centupled advance in price for all commodities as compared with that ruling before the War, particularly for clothing, shoes and also most foodstuffs. Accordingly, the standard of life of those classes engaged in civil work has fallen, while at the same time other classes more favored by the ruling circumstances, farmers especially and capitalists making money transactions or trading in wares, were able to realize great profits. The brain workers have to bear the brunt of this hard struggle and with them suffer the principal supporters of the intellectual and social reconstruction of Austria. The following data may serve to illustrate this injustice. The Revolution has encouraged certain despotic tendencies in the social policy which have caused a hardly justifiable re-grouping of the economic conditions. The salary of a second waiter has been multiplied by 62; that of a government official of the lowest rank by 37; that of a departmental head with university training in one of the ministries, or of a professor in the university only by 16, and that of an official of the fourth rank, chief of a department in a ministry, by 11. These figures show distinctly enough the economic disadvantage under which the brain work-

ers, the persons most indispensable to the organization of the task of reconstruction of the country, labor.

No doubt, the number of civil servants is far too large for so small a country; *i.e.*, 264,467, of which the railways supply 72,951; the post, telegraph and telephone, 32,201; the army, 30,000. The families included in this figure amount to 751,564 persons out of a total population of 65,000,000. A considerable part of them is engaged in the national transport system, which, it is true, works with a great deficit, or the monopoly plants for tobacco and salt and in the "national industry works," an enterprise in the form of nationalized economies. It will, however, prove impossible to reduce the staff of civil servants before a general reconstruction that will afford opportunities for these employees to exchange their present government employments for private positions. Likewise, a cutting down of salaries and wages can follow only upon the effect of an adequate improvement in the rate of exchange, making itself felt in a fall of prices for all commodities. Compared to the civil service expenditure the other real expenditure on administration is of no great importance (14 billions kronen in the half-year), especially as 1,829 millions are included for grants to the finances of the provinces and municipal districts. The estimate for education names a sum of only 403 millions kronen, that is eight-tenths of one per cent of the total expenditure for the six months' budget.

#### MONOPOLIES AND NATIONAL ENTERPRISES

Although all articles produced under government monopolies have gone up so high, and the railway tariffs and postal rates have been raised so far as to make them a heavy burden for

economic life, it is only the so-called "fiscal monopolies," tobacco, salt and saccharine, which yield positive and not inconsiderable returns; other national enterprises, as railways and post, are worked at a loss. This loss is to be attributed chiefly to the enormous sums spent on wages and raw materials, owing to the depreciated currency, quite aside from undeniable mistakes in the management of the works, defective or unbusinesslike organization and the often irrational employment in which the staff are engaged. Table II gives the prevailing net profits and losses for figuring in the six months estimates (that is, after deducting the costs for the staff from the expenditure figures) in millions of kronen.

The net revenue of the monopolies is therefore counterbalanced by the government enterprises, so that the total deficit amounts to 4.6 billions in half a year. The most serious item on the side of liabilities is furnished by the state railways, the deficit of which amounts to 9 billions a year, less the offset formed by the railway traffic taxes, which though not yet booked among the receipts are expected to run up to roughly speaking 2 billions kronen. The huge deficit is principally due to the large expenses for coal and other materials, which are computed at not less than 1,756 millions kronen half-yearly. The low rate of exchange must also be made responsible for 2,184 millions kronen lost half-yearly on the gross proceeds of the monopolies (for tobacco alone, 2,164 million) over the purchase of raw materials from abroad. This together with the high expenditure for salaries and wages accounts for the bad returns on the national enterprises.

#### TAXES

According to the huge increase of the expenditure, the pressure of taxa-

TABLE II

## NET PROFIT AND LOSS IN GOVERNMENT MONOPOLIES AND NATIONAL ENTERPRISES

	<i>Profit</i>	<i>Loss</i>	<i>Stand of capital on December 31, 1921</i>
<b>I. Monopolies</b>			
Tobacco.....	723.1	....	8,564.1
Salt.....	228.6	....	376.4
Saccharine.....	100.0	....	3.0
Mineral Waters.....	1.2	....	....
Lotteries.....	38.7	....	....
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>1,081.6</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>8,943.5</b>
<b>II. Enterprises</b>			
Forests, estates.....	217.7	....	2,810.0
Mines belonging to the state.....	6.9	....	119.3
Railways.....	....	4,599.0	78,665.6
Post.....	....	353.7	39.9
Telegraph and Telephone.....	....	144.3	2,401.1
Mines.....	14.8	....	576.0
Industrial plants.....	....	743.9	3,573.4
Sundry smaller enterprises (printing offices, theatres run to the state, etc.).....	33.3	146.5	897.0
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>1,354.3</b>	<b>5,978.4</b>	<b>98,115.8</b>
<b>Net loss.....</b>	<b>....</b>	<b>4,624.1</b>	

tion had to be applied to the utmost extent. Among the provisions to meet the extraordinary demand, the "single great capital levy," decreed on July 21, 1920, ranks first. This tax is levied on all unencumbered chattel, real and personal, according to a progressive scale, and has to be paid by individuals as well as by corporate bodies. The scale for individuals slides from 3 per cent on a capital of 30,000 kronen to 65 per cent on 10 millions kronen and over. The tax on the greater part of the capital property will average from 30 to 45 per cent, while the joint stock companies have to pay a uniform tax of 15 per cent, beside the high taxation for earned income. The shares in the shareholders' hands are exempt from the tax. The levy on capital is designed partly for the payment of war debts, partly for the purchase of

foreign values and the diminution of the circulation of bank notes. The capital levy is expected to yield a return of about 12 billions kronen, about 8 billions having already been received as a privileged advance payment in the first half of 1921. This sum was used for the payment of debts as advance payments were permitted partly in war loans and treasury bills. The further returns of the capital levy will come due during the coming years and are prelinimated at 500 millions kronen for the first half of 1921.

Beside the capital levy, destined to meet the extraordinary expenditures, the direct profit tax and especially the "income tax," assessed according to the income of the tax payer, have been raised as far as possible to increase the ordinary revenue. The burden of this rise in taxes is felt all

the more as it coincides with a heavy struggle for existence; the manufactures have to fight in order to be able to keep pace with upward movement of wages and prices for raw materials. The greatest part of the direct taxation involves the inhabitants of towns and, in the first degree, the crafts and manufactures and the profits of commercial and banking concerns with a fixed abode. It is much to be regretted that for technical reasons innumerable intermediary profits could not be taxed. The classes mentioned have to bear the whole burden of the government taxes.

So far, the farmers have had to contribute a small share consisting of a perfectly inadequate ground and house tax (62 millions kronen yield 3 millions of taxes a year) added to an income tax, the collection of which in the country side is not carried out energetically enough. Out of a half yearly total of 1,778 millions kronen at which the direct taxes are pre-estimated, one-half (868.6) is furnished by the considerably raised income tax. According to the scale for 1921, the tax rises progressively from about 1.5 per cent on an income of 30,000 kronen to 60 per cent on all incomes exceeding 1.2 millions kronen. As all incomes accruing from either house or landed property, chattels, personal or business, are further encumbered with profit duties on which an extra government tax of 100 per cent is charged, it may easily be gathered that Austria has reached the extreme limit of the tax payers' capacity. A remedy can be found only in a proper taxation of the farmers' income and an energetic, though technically difficult effort to make all those dealers and speculators contribute to the national finances who, in drawing huge profits out of their undeclared transactions in money or wares, give an ever renewed impetus

to quite unjustifiable rises without doing any useful economic work.

The excises have also been very much raised, *e.g.*, the wine tax by 400 kronen a hectoliter; the beer tax by 20 kronen on each degree of beer wort per hectoliter; the spirits tax by 100 kronen per liter of alcohol; the sugar tax by 160 kronen per 100 kilogram; but the total excise revenue (amounting to about 790 millions kronen half-yearly) lags far behind that of the direct taxation, seeing how little the population can spare for these articles. The stamp duties are also very high and mean a heavy charge on the whole commercial life which is further augmented by a duty on the transfer of foreign exchanges and values and by the railway transport duties. The latter (averaging 30 per cent on the passenger and freight rates and consequently going up simultaneously with these rates which are many times what they were before the war) are pre-estimated at 1,015 millions kronen per half year; the stamp taxes, at 947 millions.

A very considerable portion of Austria's revenue is contributed by the customs, to the disadvantage, it is true, of the consumers and of the producers, as the prices of nearly all necessities of life have been very much raised by the customs duties. As these have to be paid in gold or in an equivalent for gold, the government levies additional duties when the customs are paid in paper money; since May 1, 1921, these have been raised a hundred-fold on some articles, and to one hundred and thirty-fold on the nominal gold customs duties for articles having to pay excise fiscal custom, such as coffee, tea, rice. Therefore, the total revenue of the customs is pre-estimated at not less than 2,895 millions kronen for six months or 5,790 millions per annum. These



costs on being added to the prices of commodities, occasion an increase of wages. In spite of the greatest exertion, the total of the taxes collected amounts to not over 30 per cent of the total gross revenue and 14.8 per cent of the total expenditure, while monopolies and national enterprises play by far a greater part on the assets as well as on the liabilities side of the budget.

While since December, 1920, the increase of the railway tariffs, postal rates, stamp duties and additional customs duties brought a surplus revenue of 9.6 billions kronen, and while about 3 billions could be saved by the gradual reduction of the government contributions towards the cost of food-stuffs, a new railway tariff for passengers and freights introduced on July 1, 1921 will yield a surplus revenue of 6 billions per annum and an automatic surplus revenue of the traffic duties of 1.4 billions as preliniated in the budget. This was necessitated in order to allow a raise in the salaries of the government officials. Meanwhile, the expenditure has been augmented quite disproportionately by permitting higher wages. The deficit of the coming budgetary period will consequently be greater if the currency depreciation should continue. In order to provide for this expenditure a new increase of the fiscal customs tariff, stamp duties, the duty on the transfer of stocks and shares, and on tobacco prices, and further a radical reduction of the government contributions towards the flour and bread prices is planned. The latter measure will be felt very severely by the consumers.

#### THE NATIONAL DEBT

No less a burden than that of the expenditure is the capital debt of a country with a population of six millions whereof nearly one-third live in

Vienna and the provincial capitals. This is composed of the public debts of former Austria carried over to the account of the Republic of Austria as dictated by the Treaty of St. Germain and of the new national debt of the Republic of Austria. By the terms of the Peace Treaty the Austrian Republic, as the lawful successor to the old Monarchy and supposed "accomplice" in the Great War, has to bear the full burden of her predecessor's debts. They form a list of figures which must act as a drag on the work of reconstruction from the very outset and tend only to demand greater sacrifices for this purpose on the part of the foreign powers. On June 30, 1921, the public debt of former Austria (pre-war and war debts of the Monarchy) amounted to 28,340 millions kronen, nominal value, to which must be added nearly as high a sum for the augmentation of the debt caused by the currency depreciation, *i.e.*, 24,859 millions. Consequently, that part of the debt of former Austria taken over by the Austrian Republic burdens that country with no less than 53.2 billions kronen. Nevertheless, the nominal national debt of former Austria has been reduced, thanks to redemptions made by the new Austrian Republic, by as much as 9,694.5 millions (from a total of 82,196 millions on June 20, 1920, to 72,501 millions nominal value on June 30, 1921). This reduction was managed by the war loans, paid into the treasury by way of a levy on capital, and by the redemption of the war profits tax (about 9 billions) and the "N.U.M. credit" granted by the Netherlands. In the meantime, the currency depreciation of the krone to one-third below last year's level has alone sufficed to increase the burden of the debt despite all redemptions. A reduction or redemption of the national debt would seem impossible

without a thorough reform of the currency. Again we may see that the sole means of reconstruction is a raise of the rate of exchange, whereby the debt would at least be reduced again to its nominal level.

The total of Austria's *new* public debt already amounted to 59,259 millions kronen on June 30, 1921, to which sum must be added the foreign credits for foodstuffs and raw materials, as far as the accounts for them have already been settled and met by bonds. Computed at their nominal value, *i.e.*, at par before the War, they come to 464 millions kronen in gold, but to 57,434 millions kronen if computed at the present value of the kronen and considering the difference in the rate of exchange. Those foreign credits of at least 27 billions for which so far no bonds have been issued on the part of Austria are not taken into account any more than the further currency depreciation which occurred after June 30, 1921. So the debts run up by Austria herself amount to 117 billions kronen during the first two and one-half years of this Republic's existence; adding to this sum, the share of the old Austrian debts allotted to her by the Peace Treaty, we arrive at a total charge of 170 billions kronen (28,333 kronen per head of the population). The interest and redemption service for this debt requires, altogether, 4,620 million kronen half-yearly (that is, 9.2 billions per year). On the other side of the scales, we find the national property of the Austrian Republic,

although it is not available, and, further, the various assets of the state itself. The latter are composed of the capital invested in the monopolies and national enterprises (estimated at about 96 billions kronen) and of all the other movable and immovable property under government administration (public office, buildings, inventories, etc.) for which no reliable basis for valuation is available.

#### OTHER OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE TERMS OF THE PEACE TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN

But to fill the cup to the brim, Austria has been placed under the following additional obligations, resulting from the Peace Treaty, for one-half of the year 1921: balance of costs for the Vienna Section of the Reparations Commission, nominal value kronen, 250,000, *i.e.*, 32.8 million kronen under prevailing conditions (3.75 millions nominal value or 303.8 million kronen for the corresponding half of 1920); further, a government indemnification of two billion kronen granted to Austrian debtors for losses incurred through their being bound over to redeem their foreign private pre-war debts up to former nominal value, and for the liquidation of Austrian property abroad; 200 million kronen for delivering up materials of warfare; finally, 1.4 million kronen to defray the costs of the International Danube Commission: altogether, a total surplus charge of 2,238 million kronen.

## CHAPTER VI

## The Currency Problem of Austria

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THE fate of Austrian currency best shows the serious consequences of the Peace Treaty and the dismemberment of the old Monarchy which formed a homogeneous simple territory as far as customs and currency were concerned. At the beginning of the War, the currency of the old state was on the whole consolidated. By an appropriate exchange policy, the Austro-Hungarian Bank succeeded in maintaining the gold parity of its notes.<sup>1</sup> On July 23, 1914, the bank boasted a metal reserve of 1,589 million kronen and a bank note circulation of 2,130 millions; i.e., 75 per cent was covered in gold. During the War this relation sank as inflation increased. At the time of the break-down of Austria-Hungary, November, 1918, the circulation of bank notes amounted to 35.6 billion kronen, the outstanding debts, *Giroguthaben*, to 7.1 billion; that is, the current liabilities amounted, altogether, to 42.7 billion kronen, covered by the metal reserve only to the extent of eight-tenths of one per cent. Simultaneously, the value of the Austrian krone in the foreign markets rapidly depreciated. New York bills in Vienna which, at the end of August, 1914, noted 5.12 kronen, rose at the end of 1915 to 7.85 kronen, the price of the dollar in Vienna; at the end of 1916, to 9.56; after the break-down at the end of November, 1918, to 15.82; at the end of June, 1919, to 30.25; in October, 1919, to 103; in December, 1919, to 155; in February, 1920, to 250; in June, 1920, to 148; in October,

1920, to 405; in December, 1920, to 659; in April, 1921, to 666 and, on July 23, 1921, to 846 kronen.

The dreadful depreciation of the currency illustrated by these figures, set in with the break-down of the monetary unity and with the process of a total separation of the single Succession States from the formerly uniform currency system of the Monarchy. This process of separation was also accompanied by sad consequences for the bank notes of the other Succession States, though these were distinguished from the Austrian notes by being impressed with a stamp to show the country to which they belonged. The rate of exchange of these notes sank likewise below the level of that of the uniform notes of former Austria in the foreign markets. The depreciation within the five small new currency units differed only in extent from that of Austria, and was, of course, modified according to the degree of the economic consolidation and equipment occasioned by the terms of the Peace Treaty. The first to begin with the currency separation was Jugo-Slavia, which on January 8, 1919, ordered the Austro-Hungarian notes on Jugo-Slav territory to be stamped with a national mark; Czecho-Slovakia followed suit by the law of February 25, 1919; then came Poland and, at last, Hungary in 1920.

All the Succession States carried out these measures without first trying to arrive at an agreement either with the Austro-Hungarian Bank or with the banks of neighboring countries, though an understanding with regard to an

<sup>1</sup>Irving Fisher, "The Purchasing Power of Money," New York, 1911.

organized separation of the currencies would have been best for all concerned. With the creation of independent national currencies, their independent quotations were started in the foreign markets first on an approximately even basis and later, in 1919 and 1920, with an always greater differentiation to the detriment of the remaining and also nationally stamped Austrian currency. The figures in Table 1 show the enormous change in the value of the Austrian krone; here the rate of exchange

lowed; the export, still prohibited. Up till now, the *Auslandskronen* have been quoted higher than the *Inlandskronen*, since the former could be used for payment not only in Austria but also abroad, and as their available number is limited, while the latter may as a rule be used for payment or investments in Austria only. Table 2 shows the movement of the rate of exchange of the cheques on Vienna in Zurich (*Auszahlung Wien, Geldkurs*), i.e., the rate of exchange of

TABLE 1  
RATE OF EXCHANGE ON CHEQUES ON ZURICH IN VIENNA

	1918	1919	1920	1921
January .....	.....	324.64	3,928.00	.....
February .....	.....	.....	.....	(14.) 11,000
March .....	.....	410.53	3,865.38	.....
April .....	.....	.....	.....	(30.) 11,650
May .....	.....	469.16	3,492.00	.....
June .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
July .....	.....	618.60	2,735.18	(5.) 12,590
.....	.....	.....	.....	(22.) 13,925
August .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
September .....	.....	1,022.00	4,119.00	.....
October .....	(31.) 230.50	.....	.....	.....
November .....	(30.) 273.25	2,127.86	7,521.69	.....
December .....	(30.) 323.25	.....	10,175.00	.....

of the cheques on Zurich in Vienna shows the movement in Austrian kronen. (Where no specific date is stated, monthly average quotations are given.)

A still more distinct language is spoken by the rates of exchange in the chief money markets of Europe: Zurich, Amsterdam and London. As Austria had prohibited the export of kronen bank notes with the purpose of stopping the overstocking of foreign markets (without, however, being able to prevent smuggling), a difference was produced between the rate of exchange of "inland kronen," *Inlandskronen* and "foreign kronen," *Auslandskronen*. At present, the import of kronen is al-

lowed; the export, still prohibited. Up till now, the *Auslandskrone*, while the rate of exchange of the *österreichisch gestempelte Kronennoten* (bank notes stamped by the Republic of Austria) has always been some points lower than that of the *Auslandskronen*. Not until some time after the prohibition of import embargo for kronen had been removed did the rate of exchange of the cheques on Vienna drop to the level of the kronen bank notes.

This survey shows well enough that the real catastrophe of the rate of exchange only took place *after* the War in the years 1919 and 1920. Before the separation of the currencies, the Austrian krone noted 42.50 centimes and



TABLE 2  
CHEQUES "ZURICH-VIENNA" AT ZURICH (100 KRONEN AND CENTIMES)

Month m. = medio, u. = ultimo	1918	1919	1920	1921
January .....	.....	{ m. 30.15 u. ....	{ m. 2.30 u. 2.05	{ m. 1.22½ u. 1.77½
February .....	.....	{ m. 24.50 u. 23.40	{ m. 2.05 u. 2.35	{ m. 1.50 u. 1.30
March .....	.....	{ m. 24.00 u. ....	{ m. 2.40 u. 2.70	{ m. 1.37½ u. 1.55
April .....	.....	{ m. 18.00 u. 18.75	{ m. 2.75 u. 2.70	{ m. 1.70 u. 1.50
May .....	.....	{ m. 21.00 u. 18.75	{ m. 2.70 u. 4.25	{ m. 1.30 u. 1.35
June .....	.....	{ m. 17.00 u. 18.50	{ m. 3.70 u. 3.85	{ m. 1.25 u. 0.97
July .....	.....	{ m. 16.50 u. 11.50	{ m. 3.70 u. 3.42½	{ m. 0.82 21. 0.77
August .....	.....	{ m. 12.50 u. 11.75	{ m. 3.00 u. 2.80	.....
September .....	.....	{ m. 8.50 u. 9.00	{ m. 2.77½ u. 2.80	.....
October .....	{ ..... u. 42.50	{ m. 5.00 u. 5.25	{ m. 2.25 u. 2.02½	.....
November .....	{ m. 37.75 u. 32.75	{ m. 4.65 u. 4.00	{ m. 1.75 u. 1.95	.....
December .....	{ m. 30.25 u. 30.50	{ m. 3.00 u. 3.25	{ m. 1.65 u. 1.55	.....

even some time after the Revolution in the middle of the year 1919 (June 28, 1919) it maintained a rate of 18.5 centimes, a level which not even the boldest financial plan on the part of Austria or of the League of Nations would dream of reaching again. This proves that by a timely interference the déroute of the Austrian exchange might have been inhibited or avoided entirely at much smaller sacrifices than are now demanded. It proves further, that this depreciation was brought about by the one-sided measures of the Succession States, which were carried through without the slightest regard for the Austro-Hungarian Bank or for the exchange of the notes left to Austria. Another reason was the enormous inflation of bank notes in Austria, herself, which became inevitable because of the

financial wants of Austria, the terrible shortage of commodities, the rise of all prices, chiefly of those for imports, naturally caused by the depreciation itself, and so on in endless succession. Still the Austrian krone retains a higher purchasing power at home than abroad.

But this one isolated fact which is favorable for the consumer, now begins to vanish, as the rise due to wild speculation with wares and foreign values has brought the prices of commodities and wages almost on a par with those in foreign countries. In some cases they have even surpassed them. What this means while the Austrian krone is almost completely depreciated (on July 21, 1921: 0.77 centimes at Zurich) can well be imagined. So it came to pass that of late

even the Hungarian krone, which had always been valued lower, gained considerably over the Austrian krone on July 21, 1921: 1.85 centimes) so that the exchange of goods with this neighboring country was rendered much more expensive for Austria.

The financial scheme of the League of Nations which was abandoned almost as soon as it had been started could effect only a quite transient improvement of the rate of exchange on the cheques on Vienna at Zurich to 1.70 centimes (April 16, 1921). Beside the continuous delay of the promised international credits, the Austrian rate of exchange was prejudiced by the news that the program of the delegates of the League of Nations provides for a stabilization of the rate of exchange only on the bases of one to two, that is, hardly above the present level. (But not even for this plan could the most necessary condition, the suppression of the general mortgage laid on all the revenues of Austria by the peace terms, be obtained.) The presumable failure of such a scheme, even if it could be carried out with fewer sacrifices, was valued accordingly in the money market. Beside the repeal of the kronen import embargo and its consequence, the equalizing of the Auslands- and Inlands-kronen depreciated the rate of exchange of the Auslandskrone, as the reason for its being valued higher was partly removed. Soon after, the rate of exchange of kronen bank notes and cheques dropped rapidly to reach its lowest level on July 21, 1921. The sole consolation for this financial ruin of a country may perhaps be found in the fact that, on the same day the Polish mark, though from other causes, was rated at Zurich at only 0.32 centimes and was somewhat nearer the low water mark.

The situation of the Austro-Hun-

garian Bank, as far as it has the function of issuing notes for the Republic of Austria, has naturally become worse. The circulation of stamped Austrian bank notes already amounted to 50.14 billion kronen on July 7, 1921, the other liabilities due immediately, to 9.1 billions; these were covered by a mental reserve including gold bonds only up to 5,220,132 kronen. The principal assets are the treasury bonds issued by the government and presented at the Austro-Hungarian Bank to the amount of 47.8 billion kronen. When in January, 1920 the Austrian bank notes inflation was disclosed for the first time apart from that of Hungary and that of the non-stamped and nationalized notes of the former Monarchy, the Austrian circulation amounted to only 13.2 billion kronen, whereas the gold reserve amounted to 222.6 million (beside 11.4 millions gold bills and 57 million silver currency). The total bank notes circulation of the former Monarchy amounted to 35.6 millions kronen at the end of 1918, *i.e.*, previous to the real financial explanation.

Table 3 shows the development of the bank note circulation in millions kronen.

On top of all this, there came the liquidation which is forced upon the bank by article 206 of the Treaty of St. Germain. This was only actually begun in the year 1920. According to the wording of the Treaty the former managers of the bank, as the legitimate representatives of the shareholders and the Austrian and Hungarian government, are totally excluded from the liquidation, and only the liquidators nominated by the Reparations Commission are charged with the liquidation. The first difficult problem of liquidation concerned the remaining gold reserve of the bank (still 222.7 millions kronen in gold on November

TABLE 3  
INFLATION IN BANK NOTES IN AUSTRIA

Situation on	Metal reserve (incl. of cheques)	Total circulation	Circulation of Austrian notes	Circulation of Hungarian notes
December 31, 1918.....	342.65	35,588.6	.....	.....
December 31, 1919.....	297.36	53,109.4	.....	.....
January 31, 1920.....	291.08	56,772.8	13,266.8	.....
March 15, 1920.....	286.76	60,197.3	14,793.0	.....
November 15, 1920.....	325.73*	74,124.4	25,977.9	12,000.0

\* The fluctuations in the metal reserve are produced by the changing state of the gold cheques included (November 15, 1920: 46.6 billion) in the figures for the year 1921 most of the metal reserve is excluded or belongs to the liquidation stock.

INFLATION IN BANK NOTES IN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

Situation on	Austria		Hungary	
	Metal reserve	Circulation of banknotes	Metal reserve	Circulation of banknotes
May 23, 1921.....	5.06	44,244.3	0.18	12,725.1
May 31, 1921.....	7.09	45,583.1	0.18	13,685.6
June 30, 1921.....	6.63	49,685.1	0.18	18,095.9
July 7, 1921.....	5.22	50,142.6	0.18	17,923.8

15, 1920; 46.6 millions gold bills on foreign countries and 56.4 millions in silver currency).

Although only Austria and Hungary and not the Succession States are liable for the foreign circulation of the old Austrian bank notes according to the Peace Treaty, all the Succession States try to make their claims on the gold reserve. By order of the Reparations Commission the bank handed over, to begin with, an amount of 65 million gold kronen to the liquidators out of which advances were given to the Succession States. Austria received, after a credit already paid back to Holland had been deducted, about 8 million gold kronen.

Concerning other problems, too, the enforcement of article 206 of the

Treaty of St. Germain caused the greatest difficulties. It is now generally acknowledged that the strict application of these decisions of the Peace Treaty cannot be carried through; the liquidators are now bringing about an agreement between the Succession States concerned, regarding the problem of recovery of the bank notes, the liabilities to the creditors of the notes, etc. But this attempt at some agreement encounters great difficulties in the Succession States, so that all these complicated legal and financial questions are waiting for settlement—much to the damage of the Austrian currency whose rate of exchange has to suffer by the uncertainty concerning finances and currency. A settlement will go far toward stabilization.

## SUMMARY

The whole situation of Austrian finance is not promising for, as we have seen, it is an immediate consequence of an unequal distribution of burdens at the creation of the new National States out of the ruins of the old Monarchy. Under these circumstances the bank note inflation appears as a necessary consequence of the general financial situation; as a matter of course, it continues to depress the value of the currency and forces up the price of all commodities. It is characteristic enough that neither the announcement of an "action of the League of Nations" and the financial program elaborated for this purpose, nor the promised credit of foreign values could bring about the expected improvement on the kronen exchange in the foreign markets. On the contrary, shortly after, the Austrian krone suffered a slump down to 0.87 centimes (on cheques, Zurich-Vienna), and closed with 0.90 centimes for cheques and 0.79 centimes for stamped Austrian bank notes on July 3, 1921.

We may infer from all these facts that preliminary to the introduction of a new currency, a rise of the Austrian kronen value must be the aim. By the accumulation of ample gold funds and suitable measures based on extensive instalments of credits from the League of Nations in all the principal money markets, the krone might be raised to equal 8 Swiss francs on the average, thus enabling Austria to trade freely with the surrounding National States. *At the very lowest a rate of exchange of about 4 to 5 ought to be attained if a move toward reconstruction is to be made with any prospect of success. Subsequent only to having reached such a desirable basis by easy stages and within a suitable period of time so as to avoid any abrupt changes (endan-*

gering the export manufactures with the effects of a presumable slump), the introduction of a new currency and the stabilization of the new rate of exchange might be attempted. This will necessitate a continuation of foreign support in future. The proposed respite of only twenty years before the enforcement of the right of a general mortgage on the Austrian revenue, will prove too short under these circumstances as there must be a possibility of prolonging open foreign credits beyond this period.

An attempt at stabilization on the existing basis of 1 or 2 would allow only a hand to mouth existence in the present fashion, but not a definite reform. In the long run the majority of the people will be unable to bear all the restrictions of a mental, intellectual and physical nature. In this respect it may be important to point out particularly that the outward show of luxuries in Vienna by its numerous foreign visitors, does not allow any inference to be drawn as to the real standard of life of the laboring classes. If today love of pleasure and luxury are to be seen, if the restaurants, cafés, and pleasure resorts are crowded, it must be regarded as one of the sad symptoms attendant on any great crisis in any country. The lack of confidence in the constancy of the value of the currency leads to reckless spending as nobody likes to risk a lasting investment of capital or to save up money for the future. But it would be a great mistake to believe the true born Viennese rolls in luxury. In reality it is only the people who have enriched themselves during and after the War and who are now filling the ranks of the war-profiters and speculators by making extraordinary gains in an unscrupulous manner, running up the prices of all necessities of life, dealing in foreign values and contributing to the depreciation of the



Austrian krone. To a great extent this set of people is intermingled with foreigners, chiefly former "war-refugees" from Eastern Galicia and Bucovina, who, after having settled down in Vienna permanently, make the best of the prevailing conditions by accumulating riches.

In this respect the low rate of exchange has had the most serious consequences for Austria. It first led to selling off Austrian necessities, which wandered abroad frequently only to be re-imported after a time and sold at a high price when the shortage of commodities became intolerable. This favorable opportunity over, an unrestrained speculation in foreign values and exchanges set in to the detriment of the rate of exchange and purchasing capacity of the krone at home and abroad. In Austria many of the parasites described contribute vastly toward the rise in prices and there is no legal means to stop them or even to subject them to an effective taxation. Apart from this motley crowd of speculators from home and abroad, the set securing the doubtful fame of Vienna as a center of "luxuries and pleasures,"

is formed of foreigners. They flock together from the National States and the abnormally high purchasing power of their money makes Vienna the "cheapest city in all the world" for them. Exactly like the above-mentioned set of Austrian and foreign speculators they are in a position to satisfy a taste for the luxuries of life which is denied to the rest of the population. The restaurants, places of entertainment, big emporiums, theatres and even the places where serious art is cultivated reckon with the "new rich" as their chief customers, whereas the enjoyment of all the refinements of art and civilization is denied to the intellectual middle classes of the native population.

The antagonism of the classes and masses has thus been intensified in an alarming degree. A new exceedingly low-bred social layer has come to the surface, the "new rich." It will be a long and arduous task to heal the serious economic, social and, last but not least, the injuries to ideals in the new Republic of Austria and this task will require the steady, organized assistance of the civilized countries of the West.

## CHAPTER VII

### Austrian Banks

By DR. MAX SOKAL

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IT was prophesied of Austrian Banks, that after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy they would have greatly to reduce their establishments on account of the diminution of their sphere of action, the vastness of their organizations being wholly out of proportion to the requirements of crippled Austria.

So far this hypothesis has been dis-

proved by facts. The banks very soon had to extend their business, to increase their staff, to enlarge their premises; and the turnover of the last financial year, where balance sheets are already available, shows a considerable surplus over that of preceding periods, a surplus, which is, of course, partly accounted for by the steady depreciation of Austrian currency.

In the period immediately following the cessation of hostilities, the Austrian banks were chiefly busy carrying out measures of an economic nature (whether emanating from the state or from organizations and individuals) which were a consequence of arrangements made between Austria and the new states, such as the liability for state bonds, etc. But very shortly afterwards, proper banking set in in Vienna which, beginning with the business in stocks and foreign exchanges, grew in intensity, and with the reconstruction of industry and trade soon embraced all departments of normal banks.

#### BRANCH REORGANIZATION IN NEW STATES

A transformation and reorganization had to be worked out in the case of branches of Austrian banks situated in some of the new states where the political situation made it necessary to give to the branch of the Austrian bank the status of an independent institution. The Czecho-Slovakian government, for instance, enacted restrictive regulations concerning the admission of branch establishments of foreign banks. Those which exist already must not carry on their business any longer than five years, and even this short lease is made subject to conditions.

Under these circumstances, some Vienna banks preferred to reorganize their branches situated on Czecho-Slovakian territory and others are about to do the same. A similar policy is being adopted in the case of branches in what is now Poland and Jugoslavia. These new banks are, of course, to a certain extent controlled by their mother-institutions which hold a considerable portion of their shares and have come to special arrangements with them. On the other hand, Vienna banks have lately begun to add

to the number of their branches in provincial towns of Austria. This policy is a consequence of the fact that the peasantry, comparatively speaking, is much better off now-a-days than the town folk and that, in this sense, country places have gained in economic importance at the expense of the capital.

Side by side with the branches of Vienna banks, however, new banks have arisen in the Succession States which were intended partly to cater to the special wants of the agrarian population and partly, also, to apply themselves to the trade in foreign exchanges.

The chief interest of Austrian banks centers in the financing of industry but of late, especially in the last year, the strongly increasing transit trade of Vienna has afforded opportunity for all sorts of banking transactions. What the industrial clients demanded of the banks was that they should be provided with capital for obtaining raw material and labor, the nominal cost of both having risen to exorbitant figures, and thus enabled gradually to resume their work in the home market and export trade. The close connection which has always existed in Austria between banks and industrial establishments greatly facilitated that task and the latter could generally rely upon being backed up in case of need by their banks. On the other hand, many industrial undertakings have increased their capital generally with the assistance of banks which assisted willingly with a view to relieving the pressure on their own means which would otherwise have been taxed too highly.

#### STOCK EXCHANGE DEALINGS

Complicated problems of a technical and economic nature had to be solved by the banks through the constantly growing interest of the public in stock exchange dealings, a tendency which

has become peculiarly marked since the autumn of 1920, the banks making a point as far as lay in their power of keeping away mere gamblers from transactions in stocks and foreign exchanges. A comparison of figures published in the yearly reports of the *Wiener Giro-und-Kassen-Verein* for 1918, 1919 and 1920 throws light on the increasing importance for banks and bankers of the exchange business. The *Wiener Giro-und Kassen-Verein*, it may be stated here, is entrusted with the technical liquidation of all dealings in stocks done at the Exchange and in addition to that, although there is also a Clearing Association of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, with the clearing between the various banks and bankers.

The total turnover of the *Wiener Giro-und Kassen-Verein* amounted as follows:

1. In kronen: 1918, 99,964,291; 1919, 115,354,377; and 1920, 593,-214,985.

2. In the number of checks drawn on the institution: 1918, 95,092; 1919, 79,686; and 1920, 255,736.

I may mention in this connection that the system of stock clearing which is employed at the Vienna Exchange, and which is carried out by the *Wiener Giro-und-Kassen-Verein*, is rather unique in its way. It is now being imitated in Prague and Budapest, and by far surpasses that customary in Paris and Berlin. This system makes it possible to clear gigantic turnovers in a very short time with a staff relatively small. Leaving other causes out of the question, it would appear that this high efficiency is one of the reasons why stock exchanges in the new states did not develop intensively. It is a fact that organization and technical superiority play a far bigger part than is commonly thought. The security warranted by a thoroughly efficient clearing is of decisive influence for the

development and the importance of the Exchange.

In other respects, also, for instance in their safes and treasure vaults which are constructed according to the newest and most approved systems, Vienna banks stand on a remarkably high level. Vienna boasts of the most modern bank palaces. I need mention only the *Wiener Bank-Verein*, the *Niederösterreichische Escompte-Gesellschaft* and the stately pile of the *Credit Anstalt*, which is not yet finished. On a great number of other bank premises, reconstructions and improvements have been effected. This modern construction in addition to their splendid organization and their highly trained staff makes Vienna banks extremely capable economic instruments.

#### FOREIGN EXCHANGES

The disruption of the currency which set in shortly after the collapse of the Monarchy and in consequence of which the new states evolved separate money standards has greatly stimulated dealings in foreign exchanges in Austria. Such dealings, contrary to what was the case up to the autumn of 1920, are now free of government restrictions. There is a clearing in foreign exchanges under the supervision and guidance of the *Devisenzentrale*, State Office for Regulating the Trade in Foreign Exchanges, which since its coming into existence has been able, with very few exceptions, to procure to industry and commerce those foreign exchanges which they required. Restrictive regulations, however, are still in force with regard to the Austrian krone which is transferable from one "inland" account to another only. Its transfer to a "foreign" account is subject to the granting of a special permit by the *Devisenzentrale*.

The fact that since this time last year so many new banks and banking

houses have been established, all dependent upon making a profit out of the trade in foreign exchanges, will alone serve to show that Vienna has become an important center for the trade in this commodity.

Balance sheets of the larger banks, for 1920, as far as they were available up to time of writing, are shown in Table 1.

An examination of these figures will give a clear insight into the economic situation of the moment which is characterized by a large gross revenue, high working expenses, enormous taxation and large pecuniary requirements of customers. A brisk demand for stocks has been alluded to above as being typical of the last few years. This tendency has created interest abroad in Austrian stocks and as a natural consequence, a still stronger demand at home.

#### INFLUX OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

Austrian economists have been watching this phenomenon with somewhat mixed feelings. A general clearance sale was ironically spoken of in connection therewith, and fear was entertained in some quarters lest Austria's industry and banks pass completely under foreign control. As far as can be judged now, however, the influx of foreign capital has proved beneficial to Austrian concerns; for it must not be overlooked that the Peace Treaty had brought Austria into a position which made her completely incapable of surmounting by her own strength the numerous restrictions and impediments to trade with other countries, and a resumption of relations was made possible only by the interested assistance of foreign capital.

On the other hand, from the point of view of foreign capitalists it may be said that investments in culturally and industrially developed Austria stand an excellent chance of proving advan-

tageous. Many industrial undertakings and banks involve shares of foreign capital, a Belgian and an American group being at present interested in the *Wiener Bank Verein* and in the *Credit Anstalt für Handel und Gewerbe*, respectively; French capital, in the *Boden-Credit Anstalt* and in the *Wiener Kommerzialbank*, and Italian financial circles, in the *Niederösterreichische Escompte-Gesellschaft*. Two banks, viz., the *Länderbank* and the *Anglo-oesterreichische Bank*, are the object of special state legislation. It is intended to convert the *Länderbank* into a French and the *Anglo-oesterreichische Bank* into a British banking institution, and to transfer their headquarters to Paris and London respectively; but this change of nationality has to be authorized by the Austrian legislature. Bills to that effect are at present under parliamentary discussion.

Foreign interest in Austrian banks generally took shape when, and where a bank was about to raise its capital. Raising of the capital had continually to be resorted to, in intervals of various duration, these last two years, in order to balance the depreciation of money which had its counterpart in the enormously increased figures of all bank transactions. It is only fair to say, however, that such measures were decided upon and finally taken very cautiously and did not by a long way keep pace with the depreciation of the currency. Table 2 shows the increase of capital of the various banks.

#### RATE OF EXCHANGE

The favorable opinion of the Exchange in regard to these transactions is proved by the fact that the new shares were invariably taken over smoothly and that the syndicates for their issue were very short-lived. Another proof is furnished by the exchange value of shares.



TABLE 1  
SIGNIFICANT FIGURES FROM THE BALANCE SHEETS OF THE LARGER BANKS FOR 1920

	Wiener Bankverein	Boden-Cre- dit-Anstalt	N. ö. Escompte- Gesellschaft	Union- bank	Verkehrs- bank	Depositen- bank	"Mercur"	Central- bank d. deutsch. Spark.	Wiener Kommersial- bank	Steier- märk Escompte- bank
1. Total balance	10,318,350	6,649,675	2,968,272	2,950,764	4,456,954	3,927,160	2,842,924	3,599,724	1,564,365	1,080,577
2. Creditors	8,983,531	5,625,752	2,546,900	2,541,728	3,486,861	3,119,681	2,331,776	2,585,427	1,393,151	916,693
3. Treasury bills and savings bank-books	623,255	.....	48,576	95,679	277,361	148,840	131,729	161,984	13,990	60,039
4. Acceptances	24,500	35,340	34,985	54,384	6,960	14,120	27,377	.....	.....	.....
5. Debtors	7,236,706	5,288,131	2,495,179	2,268,581	3,638,826	2,431,360	2,311,956	1,558,099	1,306,560	1,027,723
6. Bills	438,572	235,347	199,705	180,211	34,382	334,448	117,739	33,733	25,671	9,360
7. Stocks	341,671	146,871	64,966	104,389	90,320	109,771	93,886	127,651	47,509	11,107
8. Payment for syndicate business	146,788	82,718	58,891	22,719	76,644	93,722	44,432	.....	40,443	908
9. Revenue from interest	160,252	63,024	57,242	50,205	43,846	73,674	40,948	44,238	30,907	10,766
10. Revenue from commission business	77,316	46,037	46,977	44,767	110,732	52,964	50,166	35,969	29,992	17,956
11. Profits of foreign values, stocks etc.	156,575	44,245	33,316	42,234	18,150	74,857	41,220	.....	37,053	15,223
12. Salaries, Pensions, etc.	155,937	46,218	48,966	56,239	66,103	69,887	56,945	56,738	29,795	17,786
13. Expenses	89,749	12,307	10,898	21,127	44,913	33,310	14,981	28,712	17,445	15,448
14. Taxes	69,226	49,630	19,014	26,575	13,427	20,618	20,348	10,565	21,361	2,839
15. Net-return	76,775	45,459	36,024	33,418	49,031	76,503	39,341	16,966	35,628	13,900

Note. Values are given in thousand kronen.

TABLE 2

INCREASE IN THE NOMINAL CAPITAL OF IMPORTANT BANKS

<i>Institut</i>	1914	1917	1918	1920	1921 p3. 15. 3.
Anglobank.....	100,000,000	130,000,000	150,000,000	200,000,000	300,000,000
Bankverein.....	150,000,000	150,000,000	180,000,000	300,000,000	300,000,000
Boden-Credit-Anstalt.....	54,000,000	63,000,000	75,000,000	105,000,000	150,000,000
Centralbank d. deutsch. Spark.....	30,000,000	30,000,000	50,000,000	80,000,000	120,000,000
Credit Anstalt.....	150,000,000	170,000,000	200,000,000	320,000,000	400,000,000
Depositenbank.....	33,000,000	60,000,000	80,000,000	300,000,000	300,000,000
Escomptegesellsch.....	110,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	150,000,000	150,000,000
Länderbank.....	130,000,000	130,000,000	160,000,000	160,000,000	160,000,000
"Mercur".....	50,000,000	66,000,000	80,000,000	180,000,000	200,000,000
Unionbank.....	70,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	150,000,000	200,000,000
Verkehrsbank.....	50,400,000	65,000,040	75,040,000	175,000,000	175,000,000
Kommerzialbank.....	.....	30,000,000	45,000,000	150,000,000	150,000,000
Wr. Lombard-u. Escompte- bank.....	10,000,000	15,000,000	20,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000

The favorable opinion of bank shares entertained in competent quarters is, of course, largely due to their lucrativeness. Table 3 shows the percentage of dividend paid by banks.

## IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS

The preceding sketch will not leave on the mind of the reader an adequate

impression of the task set before Austrian banks unless he remembers constantly how their will to work and their efforts to revert to normal business have to struggle against the obstacles erected by the Treaty of St. Germain. The budgetary position of the state, and in connection therewith the currency question, the economic

TABLE 3

AMOUNT OF THE DIVIDENDS, IN PER CENT, PAID BY IMPORTANT BANKS

<i>Institut</i>	1913	1915	1917	1919	1920
Anglo-östr. Bank.....	8 1/3	8 3/4	10 5/6	10	
Wiener Bank-Verein.....	8	7	8 1/2	8 1/2	12
Boden-Credit-Anstalt.....	20	20	22	20	20
Credit Anstalt.....	10 5/8	10	12 3/16	11 7/8	15
Escompte-Gesellschaft.....	10 1/2	11	12	12	14
Länderbank.....	7 1/2	6	8	6	
Unionbank.....	8 1/2	7 1/2	9	9	11
Centralbank d. deutsch. Spark.....	5	4 1/2	5 1/2	6 1/2	8
Depositenbank.....	8 1/2	8 1/2	9 3/4	10	12 1/2
"Mercur".....	9	7	9 1/2	10	12 1/2
Allg. Verkehrsbank.....	7.85	6 3/7	8 4/7	10	12.85
Wr. Lombard-u. Escompte- bank.....	6 1/2	5	5	5	
Wr. Kommerzialbank gegr. 1916.....			6	8	10

policy of the new states, the financial arrangements to be made with them, the payment of pre-war debts (especially kronen debts) constitute so many problems which the managers of Austrian banks have always to keep before them and which continually remind them that the greatest efforts are needed to surmount these difficulties.

Austria is a small country, but it is to be doubted whether even among the larger countries of the world there can

be found one upon which is incumbent the solution of so many complicated problems as confront this advanced post of western culture in Central Europe. It is therefore only natural that an appreciation of the Austrian, or more especially the Vienna, question should take this fact into account. Conditions in Austria have become sufficiently consolidated to make clearly discernible the economic bearing of the problem as shown in the balance sheet of the banks.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Traffic and Transport in Austria

Compiled by the Ministry for Transport and Traffic

THE transport system of Austria is not the necessary effect of an economic evolution; it is indeed, like the state itself, nothing but the torso, the western fragment of a once united system. Vienna, the former center of traffic, is now situated, with all its central apparatus, on the periphery of a small country. This fact should not be overlooked in considering the transport system and the separate means of transportation.

#### AUSTRIAN RAILWAYS

The total railway net of the Austrian state railways has, including the small railways, a length of 6,940.05 kilometers; of these 3,415.79 kilometers called *Bundesbahnen* fall to the share of railways in the possession of the government; 302.45 kilometers, to railways belonging to private societies but operated for the government, and 836.76 kilometers, to state railways operated by private individuals; so that 4,555 kilometers are at present operated by the state.

The length of the private railways

amounts now to 921.81 kilometers. The share of the Südbahn Gesellschaft, whose total line was formerly in Austria and extended over 2,334 kilometers from Vienna to Triest, amounts now in Austria only to 703 kilometers, but the company has the administration of 195 kilometers of local railways in Lower Austria and Styria. The Aspang railway, 87 kilometers, Vienna-Aspang, is administered by a shareholders' company. Independent local railways extend to a total amount of 1,072 kilometers.

In old Austria there were over 25 kilometers of small railways moved by steam, 362 kilometers, by electricity, and 1.24 kilometers of cable roads.

Only the following railways of the Austrian Republic have not been diminished: the western lines (Vienna-Bregenz, Vienna-Passau) and the line to the south (Vienna-Villach-Tarvis) at the Italian frontier. The Südbahn-Gesellschaft carries traffic only to the Jugo-Slavian frontier at Spielfeld, though its lines go further on over Jugo-Slavian and Italian territories,

until they reach Triest, part of the former Austrian Monarchy. Two of the principal junctions have fallen to the lot of the Succession States, i.e., Marburg to Jugo-Slavia and Franzensfeste to Italy.

#### NEW FRONTIER LINES AND THE RAILWAYS

To remove the disadvantages of the present frontier lines, the countries now having parts of the Südbahn, Austria, Italy, Jugo-Slavia, have concluded an agreement, the so-called *Régime Provisoire*, which has to remain in force until a final solution of the Südbahn problem. This agreement secures the Südbahn an independent continuation and uniformity. For the administration of the Südbahn the same regulations are in force as for the state railways. The question of the employers, also, is managed in the same manner.

Of the northern and eastern lines, the Nordbahn (Vienna-Krakau), Nordwestbahn (Vienna-Prag-Tetschen-Bodenbach) and Franz-Josefsbahn (Vienna-Prague and Vienna-Eger), but fragments of 41 to 164 kilometers belong to Austria. By the fixation of the frontiers by the Peace Treaty, the transit stations, Gmünd, Znaim, Grussbach and Lundenburg, which are provided with the accommodations necessary to centers of traffic, were given over to the Czecho-Slovakian Republic. In consequence, those parts of the railway lines which remain in Austria lack stations able to collect and to dispose of the flood of goods coming into that country. The technical plants of the Gmünd and Lundenburg stations were especially accommodated to the traffic in the direction of Vienna, in which direction went heavily loaded freight trains; over these lines, the large coal transports were brought from the Czechian and Silesian coal districts having a large export industry.

It was a natural consequence of the formation of new states that customs frontiers should be erected, which render passenger and freight traffic from Vienna to Hungary and Roumania, and vice versa, by the means of passport and customs duties, much more difficult, and indeed, condemn the double-railed mainline, Vienna-Marchegg, formerly very much used, to total lack of traffic, the traffic from Hungary passing Bruck on the Leitha though that line is of smaller capacity. Some improvements in the traffic of the Succession States have been made by different conferences; the final removal of the many remaining traffic difficulties between these states will be the task of the International Conference in Portoroze, planned for September.<sup>1</sup>

The unfavorable development of railway traffic caused by the War, and its consequences from which not even the victorious countries have been spared, naturally was felt very heavily by the Austrian railways. The Austrian railways were reduced by the Treaty of St. Germain to the Alpine lines, which labor under difficult grade-building and traffic conditions, and are not much frequented. The Austrian railways were further weakened by the tendencies of the Succession States to withdraw from traffic relations dating back for centuries, while, on the other hand, the Peace Treaty imposed heavy burdens on all Austrian roads for the benefit of the Succession States. Furthermore, the continued depreciation of the currency in Austria and the continual drop in the purchasing power of the Austrian krone abroad, immensely increased the expenditure for salaries and, still further, the expenditure for materials, while the limit for raising the tariff was soon reached, due to the

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note. This chapter was compiled in July.



pauperization of the masses. But the greatest increase in expenditure was caused by the loss of the coal supply districts brought about by the Peace Treaty. This loss resulted not only in the dependency of the Austrian coal supply on the good-will of the neighboring states, which compel Austria to take coal of low grade, but also, because of the extraordinary low rate of the Austrian exchange abroad, in the raising of the price of coal to 180 times the pre-war price.

The bad business results to which this condition must lead are indicated by the following figures concerning the state railways which form the greatest part of the Austrian railway net and therefore determine the general prospect for the entire system. According to the preliminary budget for the present year—definite balances have not yet been published—an expenditure of 16.6 billions kronen stands against an annual revenue of 7.8 billions kronen (chiefly transport returns) so that, including the .4 billions kronen for interest and redemption of railway debt, we find a deficit of 9.2 billions. Of the total expenditure about 8 billions kronen fall to the share of salaries, etc., the rest, to the share of materials. Half of this expenditure for materials is designed for the coal for trains, and of this, in consequence of the bad rate of exchange, more than three billions kronen are accounted for in losses caused by the currency depreciation, which would be spared if the peace parity were reached.

A lasting improvement in this situation can be produced only by the reconstruction of economic life and the abolition of the impediments to traffic. The Austrian railways are endeavoring, either by the utmost reduction in expenditure or by far-reaching raise of revenue to oppose a further diminution of working capacity and revenues.

#### SALARIES AND EMPLOYMENT

The Austrian state railways employ about 90,000 persons. Of these about 75,000 are definitely employed with annual salaries, and 15,000 are assistants, whose employment is revocable and who have only day wages.

The payment of definite employees consists of a regular salary, plus extra salary graduated according to locality; that is, these employees may be divided into five groups whose pay varies according to the price level of the different places of employment. For instance, this extra salary amounts to 100 per cent of the regular salary in Vienna, and in the locality of the lowest paid group, to only 40 per cent. The wages of the assistants, too, differ according to grouping. In addition, all railway employees now receive "extra dearth remunerations" by fixed rates, *i.e.*, extra dearth remunerations and extra remunerations for the members of the family, which are reduced with the diminution of price level.

The payment of definite railroad employees in the tenth year of employment in Vienna, the family consisting of a wife and one child, amounts yearly (regular salary, extra pay according to locality of employment, extra dearth remunerations and "family-members remunerations" included) to:

	Kronen
For employees with academic training (engineers, etc.) . . . . .	86.160
For employees with intermediate-school learning (employees in the railway stations or in the administrative offices) . . . . .	80.568
For engine-drivers . . . . .	77.404
For conductors . . . . .	73.252
For railway guards . . . . .	71.888

The employees used in the traffic service, itself, are given shares of the working result, according to their different work, in the form of set prices (piece-work). Piece-work is introduced,

particularly in manual and technical work, as premiums, especially in the actual traffic and train service.

All questions concerning the employes as a whole or in their separate categories, or affecting the character of fundamental regulations; further, all measures concerning social or economic institutions for the employed, and, finally and all matters concerning the pensions of employes, are regulated by mutual consent of the authority passing the regulation and the elected representative of the employed.

As far as the up-keep is concerned, long neglected during the War, the railways could make up for the loss of time, but insurmountable difficulties still prevent extensive building activity. Only the principal problems, such as the establishment of institutions necessitated by the fixation of new frontiers and new traffic directions and the erection of buildings for the employes, can be considered. Then, too, lines must be provided to meet an increased pressure of 16 tons on the axle (Achsdruk) and on main lines, 20 tons.

The traffic policy of the state railways has to some extent a fiscal character, in that it varies according to the financial situation of the state. The passenger and the freight tariffs have been raised at several times and reach a considerable height. The freight tariff has already surpassed the world parity (currency depreciation). In general, on the state railways and the more important private lines, the freight rates have increased 150 times, the passenger tariff, 100 times the pre-war rate. Direct tariffs for the traffic with foreign countries could not be fixed on account of the fluctuating situation.

Further, on account of the extraordinary conditions it was impossible to put into force, unreduced, the norms of the International Convention, these

being in pre-war time the general legislative basis of the international railway freight traffic. The difficulties mentioned have brought about the conclusion of special agreements between Austria and the Succession States, providing for the application measures adopted by the Convention of Berne with some exceptions and restrictions. Only concerning the traffic between the Austrian and the Czecho-Slovakian Republic was it possible to put the agreement in force without restrictions.

#### ELECTRIFICATION PROJECTS AND THE RAILWAYS

As Austria is almost entirely dependent for her coal supply upon foreign sources, after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy it was the first care of the railway administration to make use of the inland water powers for the railways. At once necessary technical and legal measures were taken concerning the Salzburg-Innsbruck-Bregenz line to the frontier, the Tauern railway (Schwarzbach-St. Veit-Attnang-Puchheim) and the Salzkammergut railway. The execution of these measures began immediately.

In the foreground stands the Innsbruck-Bludenz line (Arlberg railway) which is especially adapted for electrification because of the intensity of its traffic, its steepness, the large water powers near to it, and its long distance from the coal districts. The water power works of the Rutz near Innsbruck and of the Spullersee in Vorarlberg are also destined for railway use and the work of electrification has already begun. The railway line Salzburg-Schwarzbach-St. Veit and Schwarzbach-St. Veit-Spittal at the Millstättersee, too, is to be supplied with electric power from the power stations of Stubach and Mallnitz and the construction of both stations has already been started.

The building of electric engines has begun, passenger train engines, engines for lighter express trains and freight trains (two put together can draw even the heavy trains) and freight train engines for heavy freight trains on the steep line of the Arlberg.

The financial issue is a very difficult part of the electrification problem. A law provides for long term investment loans, especially with the help of foreign capital. But, up until now, these could not be realized and, therefore, the expenses had to be met by government means. However, the State Railways Administration hopes that the credit action of the League of Nations may change the present situation and provide Austria with the means necessary for electrification.

#### INLAND NAVIGATION

Of the Austrian waterways, the Danube and some of its tributaries and the lakes of the Alps are used for navigation. But only the navigation on the Danube is of real importance. The first Austrian navigation project was the *Erste Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft*. It possessed at the end of 1920, 146 steamships with 69,690 H.P. and 887 trackers, and, later on, floating docks, hoists, etc. In these figures are comprised the ships on which embargoes were laid or which were sunk, during the War, so that it will only be possible to state the real number of ships after the execution of the Peace Treaty. In the year 1920 the steamships could register 77,965 hours of passage and 772,877 kilometers, the trackers, 1,033 kilometers. In 1913, the last year before the War, these posts amounted to 272,556 hours and 2,709,310 kilometers and 4,679,444 kilometers of trackers. The passenger movement amounted in the year 1913 to 741,594 persons. The *Erste Donau-Dampfschiffahrt-Gesellschaft* possesses

shipyards in Korneuburg and Obuda (Hungary), coal mines in Pécs (Hungary), a railway line from Mohacs to Pécs, and further shipping places along the Danube; the modern shipping place of Vienna is particularly remarkable.

#### SEA NAVIGATION

According to Article 225 of the Treaty of St. Germain, Austria, having no seacoast at all, yet has the right to hold a merchant fleet at sea. A law dated March 17, 1921 makes the necessary legal provisions for its flagging right.

#### POST

All legislation concerning the post and its administration falls within the sphere of the government. The administration is led by state officials and the highest post board is a department of the ministry for traffic and transport, whose chief is general manager of the post.

To the post administrations of Vienna, Graz, Klagenfurt, Linz and Innsbruck, belong 2,100 post offices and 2,120 branch post offices. Eleven hundred post offices send rural postmen out to carry letters, parcels, etc. into the country. There are further travelling posts and numerous postmen.

All post offices are central receiving offices for the post office savings bank. Of these, 1,725 post offices attend also to the telegraph and 1,350 to the telephone. The number of the officials amounted on December 31, 1920 to 9,691, of whom 219 were versed in jurisprudence and 22,876 subaltern officials, workmen, etc.

#### TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE

The Austrian telegraph and telephone is administrated by the government, *i.e.*, one department of the ministry of traffic and transport.

Directly under its administration are the chief telegraph offices in Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck, Linz and Klagenfurt. After the union of the Burgenland (Western Hungary) with the Republic of Austria according to the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, a further chief telegraph office in Ödenburg will be added.

Next follow the independent telegraph and telephone offices. In Vienna there exists a central telegraph station with 36 simple Hughes apparatus, 40 Hughes duplex apparatus, 4 double-fold Baudot apparatus, 3 twofold Baudot apparatus, 7 Siemens telegraph apparatus (Duplex), etc.

Besides, there are in Vienna and the provinces seventy-six independent telegraph offices. The whole net of wire includes cables of the length of 48,000 kilometers, covering distances of 18,000 kilometers. The telephone communication is administered by thirty-three independent telephone offices including 79,467 main partners and 40,054 secondary partners.

Altogether, 11,500 persons belong to

the telegraph and telephone administration, of whom 500 are in the administering and in the building service.

#### AERIAL NAVIGATION

The state of aerial navigation in Austria has been determined by the Treaty of St. Germain. According to the terms of this treaty, all army aeronautic material, airships, motors, hangars, balloons and so on, had to be delivered to the Allied and Associated Powers and those not ordered for foreign transport, destroyed.

Since Austria had no private airships, her aeronautic activity is at present at a standstill. Its renewal will be possible only after the removal of the prohibition to build, to import or to export airships and their parts. The Paris Conference of the Allied Powers is willing to give to the Austrian government hangars and other aeronautic equipment for the supply of four aviation fields, Aspern, near Vienna, Thalerhof, near Graz, Klagenfurt and Innsbruck.

## CHAPTER IX

### The Manufactures of the Republic of Austria

By DR. SIEGMUND SCHILDER

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**I**N those provinces which in November, 1918, united to form the state of German Austria, the later Republic of Austria, there existed all sorts of manufactures in pre-war times, which continued even through the war. Simple handicrafts and repairing work were to be found in both town and country, beside gigantic industrial concerns, such as the Österreichische Alpine Montangesellschaft with its mines,

iron forges and iron industries in Northern Styria and Carinthia; the Aktiengesellschaft Krupp at Berndorf for the manufacture of manifold objects of base metals; the Steyrer Waffen und Kraftwagenfabrik, arms and motor-car industry; the Puchschén Fahrradwerke, motorcycle works in Graz; the Lokomotivfabrik in Wiener Neustadt; the two railway carriage factories in Vienna and Graz; the



Vöslauer Kammgarnspinnerei, long wool spinning mills, and the large breweries at Schwechat, near Vienna, and at Puntigam, near Graz.

During war-timesome of these industries such as the metal and chemical factories, leather and shoe industries, were particularly flourishing inasmuch as they had to supply military requirements and were not totally cut off from the supply of raw materials. During the War, also, several state enterprises were added to private manufactures. These state enterprises were partly new projects and partly enlargements, like the Arsenal in Vienna, the ammunition works in Wöllersdorf and Blumau, etc.

Between the two extremes, *i.e.*, between handicrafts and the great manufactures, were large numbers of various factories of medium size. The War put an end to many of these smaller concerns either through their managers' being called to arms, or through want of raw materials; on the other hand, if their directors happened to be exempt from military service, or if the concern itself could be managed by women and did not lack raw materials, many of these medium sized manufacturers flourished as never before.

#### EFFECTS OF THE TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN

During the War established conditions underwent a great change which manifested itself in the adaptation of factories to the production of war requirements, in the lack of raw materials, in government prohibition on the manufacture of luxuries, etc. Then, after the War, the distribution of old Austria among the Succession States by the terms of the Treaty of St. Germain, in many cases had a detrimental effect on the industries remaining in the Republic of Austria. For example, sufficient spinning mills and

finishing works but by far too few looms are at disposal of the textile manufactures. The tanneries lack the supply of skins and tanning materials from the agricultural and forest districts of former Austria-Hungary. The important iron mines and smelting works in the Austrian Alpine provinces miss the necessary coal supply from the mining districts, which now belong to Czecho-Slovakia.

Still another effect of the treaty made itself disagreeably felt: namely, the fact that many of the great manufactures had always had their seats in Vienna but their factories, mines, etc., in those parts of former Austria-Hungary at present belonging to Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia or Italy. In these outlying districts, as it happened, circumstances in pre-war times afforded better prospects for industrial work: an abundance of raw materials, semi-manufactured goods and fuel; favorable lines of communication for export trade; moderate wages; low land prices and rents; occasionally, also, a lower taxation. Very often, indeed, only the commercial managements had their seat in Vienna.

#### MANUFACTURE OF LUXURIES IN VIENNA

The disadvantages of the breaking-up of the former great Austro-Hungarian economic and customs unit were less felt by the manufactures of luxuries and objects of art in Vienna. Here at the Capital, such manufactures derived certain advantages from the general conditions in the great metropolis which were to be found scarcely elsewhere within Austria-Hungary; *i.e.*, an innate and refined taste, a special skill in arts and crafts, surroundings encouraging such faculties and talents and comparatively wealthy and pleasure-seeking customers. Vienna, in consequence, has been able to develop

art objects to compare with the well known articles of Paris. In Vienna such products go by the name of fancy goods (*Galanteriewaren*) and comprise a great number of objects for daily use and ornaments made of the most varied materials.

Beside fancy goods made of leather, trunk articles, and saddler's wares, these are knick-knacks, smoker's requisites, stationery, articles for office use, cutlery, decorative buttons, lamps and candlesticks, high class toys, turned and carved objects made of ivory, mother of pearl, tortoise shell, horn, *galalith* celluloid, soap-stone, marble, fine wood and base metals (especially bronze and other alloys of tin, zinc, nickle and copper) including wrought iron. The objects of art made of silver, gold and platinum rank with the jewelry and church vessels for the fabrication of which Vienna has long been renowned. Another group of art objects is formed by art fabrics and clothes, elegant gowns and underwear for ladies and children, carpets, fancy shoes, furs, feathers for trimming and artificial flowers, felt hats and art needle-work on cambric.

We must further enumerate among the manufacture of luxuries at Vienna, musical instruments (especially pianos), billiard tables, fancy stationery, more particularly notepaper, envelopes, albums, visiting cards, view-cards, pictures and engravings, maps, wicker articles, high class furniture, and the products of the film manufactures, which have gained much importance because of the possibilities for exportation after the War. For the rest, manufactures of luxuries are also to be found outside of Vienna in other cities of the Republic of Austria, as for instance, stained glass at Innsbruck, potteries in Upper-Austria (Salzkammergut), wood carvings in a number of the Alpine districts, etc.

Another consequence of the new demarcation of Austria was frequently observed in certain branches of industrial life which in the times of the old dual monarchy worked chiefly for home markets in a rather lax manner encouraged by protectionism. These manufactures were suddenly turned into export industries, within the narrowed customs and economic boundaries of the Austrian Republic. It is true that for some of these industries adaptation to new conditions was facilitated by the fact that the rate of exchange of the Austrian krone in foreign countries dropped faster than the wages and other working costs of the industries went up in Austria.

#### FOREIGN AID TO MANUFACTURES

In many instances not a few foreign firms were induced to avail themselves of the Austrian industries for the finishing up of various raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. For instance, German publishers made use of Austrian printing offices; Swiss packers, of the slaughter houses in the Austrian province of Vorarlberg. In the chapter on "Customs Policy," is given a more detailed description of this finishing up trade and of the means employed by the government to encourage it with the help of the customs and credit policy.

Besides, Austrian manufactures were allowed to profit by the short reconstruction boom, which set in immediately after the Armistice and ended in the spring of 1920 to make room for an international economic crisis.

Austrian industry was the more in need of such aid as it had to labor under a number of very unfavorable conditions. In the first instance, we must mention the lack of raw material, semi-manufactured goods and fuel. This, again, would seem a consequence of other grievances, especially the

limiting of the Republic of Austria to a territory but moderately rich in natural resources and the political isolation of Austria, caused by the policy of the other Succession States, particularly of Czecho-Slovakia. It should not be overlooked, either, that the rapid depreciation of the currency increased the purchasing power of foreign countries in Austrian markets and the consequent possibilities of selling Austrian products, while the purchasing power of Austrian manufacturers for foreign raw materials and semi-manufactured goods was sensibly diminished.

#### THE COAL SHORTAGE

The shortage of coal was particularly felt by those manufactures that use coal as an integral part of their products, *i.e.*, productions of calcium carbide, or employ it in comparatively large quantities as in iron mills, in brick and cement yards (where coal shortage meant stoppage in the building trade), in other branches of metallurgy, in the calcination of magnesite, etc. For almost a year past, mutual compensation treaties with foreign countries have brought some relief, for example, the exchange of Austrian cement in Jugo-Slavia for the requirements of iron works ever since the penetration of the German Stinnes concern into the Alpine Montangesellschaft. For business reasons the hauling of iron ore in the Austrian Alpine provinces was limited to the two most easily excavated *Erzberge* (one between Eisenerz and Vordernberg in Northern Styria, the other at Hüttenberg in Carinthia) by the Alpine Montangesellschaft, the most prominent of the Austrian iron foundries, although in other parts of the Austrian Republic important beds of coal are to be found. Beside the Alpine Montangesellschaft, must be mentioned the smaller iron foundries that have gained renown

throughout the world for their first quality steel.

The output of iron ore amounted to two million tons in the last years before the War but has since declined because of the generally unfavorable conditions of the Austrian Republic. The same is true in a comparatively smaller degree of the production of pig iron, which sank from 607,000 tons in 1913 to 110,000 tons in 1920, and, in 1919, even to 55,000 tons. In this extremity, numerous hardware factories were forced to import semi-manufactured goods from Czecho-Slovakia and especially from Germany. This was the case with the very capable machine works making industrial and agricultural machines, the works engaged in the production of rolling stock, railway and building materials, the motor-car and bicycle factories, the ship-building yards on the Danube, the manufactures of cutlery, scythes, sickles, etc.

The Austrian industries were forced to adapt themselves to all these unfavorable conditions. Apart from the fancy goods industries, the scarcity and high price of raw materials, semi-manufactured goods and fuel limited the manufactures to the production of articles in which the value of raw material and semi-manufactured goods falls short of the value of the labor involved. So instead of leather, leather shoes were exported; instead of any fabrics, clothing and underwear; instead of semi-manufactured paper, paper itself or rather paper-goods, stationery, prints, etc.

#### DOMESTIC ENCOURAGEMENT

But Austria found a way out of those difficulties not only by making use of capital and labor in production of high class workmanship, but by giving preference to those branches of industries for which the raw materials

were, for the greater part, to be procured at home and to which the problem of fuel presented no great difficulties. Here it is well to mention the greatest natural resource (some deposits of useful minerals excepted) of which the Austrian Republic can boast—namely, her forests. These cover 2.95 million hectare (about 7 million acres) and yield about 4.6 million cubic metres of wood, over 95 per cent soft wood. The manufacture of wooden articles in Austria comprises all sorts of wares from the simplest sawed and rough hewed goods to the finest wooden fancy articles and carvings. There are, in addition, planed woods, veneer and timber, common and select furniture, kitchen furniture, wooden parts of tools and machinery, toys made of wood, etc. Wood is further of great importance to the Austrian Republic as the raw material for the production of paper and paper goods. All this forms an integral part of the industrial activity within the narrowed boundaries of the Republic of Austria.

#### MINERALS OF AUSTRIA

Ranging far behind wood with its manifold uses and the iron industries must be named the three principal mineral raw materials of the Republic of Austria, magnesite, graphite and talcum. Magnesite is principally used as a raw material in iron foundries. In consequence of various difficulties, the almost inexhaustible deposits in the Austrian Alpine provinces (especially in Veitsch and further at Kraubath, both deposits in Northern Styria) yielded an output of only 9,971 tons raw magnesite and 52,560 tons calcinated magnesite for export in 1920. At present Germany is the principal buyer of magnesite, a capacity in which the United States had appeared before the war.

Graphite is found in Styria (particularly near Mautern-St. Michael) of a hard non-sulphurous kind which is principally used to make crucibles for casting steel. Besides, there are smaller deposits of graphite in the North West of Lower Austria (up to Spitz on the Danube) as continuations of the South Bohemian graphite deposits. The production of the last year of peace, 1913, within the territory of the present Republic of Austria amounted to 17,282 tons and far exceeded the home requirements, which, it is true, are dependent on foreign countries for some special grades. In 1920, the production of the Austrian Republic amounted to only 11,500 tons.

Talcum is to be found in several places in the Alpine provinces but in especially large quantities and very good quality at Mautern (Northern Styria). Immediately before the War its output amounted to not quite 15,000 tons yearly. It is not only used for home demand in Austrian industries, but is also to a great extent refined for export according to the various manners of its employment in powders, paints, tooth-paste, as filling material in the paper industry, finishing material in the textile industry, as non-lubricating and polishing material free from fat in numerous industries such as potteries and the glass industry, etc.

Not only are the sources of old, well-known raw material energetically exploited in Austria but attempts are made to discover new ones or to utilize others, neglected or less known up to the present. Apart from endeavors, dating back to war-time, thoroughly to investigate the nature and usefulness of the abundant and manifold plants of economic value found in the Austrian Alpine districts, interest has chiefly centered in the mineral resources. It has for instance been



possible since the autumn of 1920 to become independent of the supply of North Bohemian caoline by the discovery of quite a good quality of this material in Upper Austria and so to lay a foundation for china manufacture in the Austrian Republic.

The fabrication of aluminum conducted with the help of the Alpine water powers has suffered very severely from the lack of the raw material, *bauxit*, ever since the collapse of the Monarchy in the autumn of 1918. Diligent mineralogical and geological research succeeded in discovering this mineral in Upper Austria and Salzburg and in stimulating a new development of the aluminum industry.

The gold mining which was carried on in the Alpine provinces, especially in Salzburg, to a comparatively large extent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries fell into disuse later on, owing partly to the unfavorable natural causes, descent of glaciers, and partly to the expulsion of the Protestant miners. But in the course of the last year gold mining has again been taken up with greater zeal as a good capital investment and met with some success, especially in the territories of Gastein and Rauris.

The coal output which still remains short of the demand has been raised on the one hand by the exploitation of coal mines neglected till now, and on the other hand by more intense exploitation of the deposits already worked which already show an increase of from not quite two million tons in 1919 to about two and one-half million tons in 1920. It is true

that for the greatest part brown coal is hauled. The oil slate (*Ölschiefer*) deposits in Northern-Tirol which had already been exploited on a moderate scale for some time have been worked more intensively ever since the summer of 1920. They are to furnish the raw material for some chemical works.

#### NATIONALIZATION

During the first two years of the Republic of Austria while the Social Democratic party played an important, and sometimes even a leading part in the government, eager attempts were made to create industries on the basis of nationalization (*Gemeinwirtschaft*) or as half private enterprises. Some municipalities of larger towns that are in the hands of the Social Democratic party, Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, Graz, etc., have pursued this line of action since the autumn of 1920 and the same may be said of the organizations of consumers in town and countryside, coöperative societies and agricultural purchasing societies. They are tackling the problems of the exploitation of the water powers, electric plants, coal mines, mills, bakeries, the production of medicines, the procuring of agricultural implements and machinery, seeds and sundry other agricultural requirements, the shoe industries, the manufacture of saddles, leather goods and the weaving and making up of textiles, etc.

But none of these attempts have so far been so greatly successful as materially to discredit the old established system of free capitalistic initiative.

## CHAPTER X

## Austria's Trade

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**T**RADER is of decisive importance for Austria and especially for Vienna. Agriculture and mining are unable to meet the demand made upon them by the population. The manufactures lack raw materials and other means of fabrication. Despite the greatest exertions made by the government and all classes of the population, only a comparatively small part of the demand for raw materials and manufactured goods could be furnished by home production. Through trade alone would it seem possible, therefore, to obtain the necessary raw materials. If amply provided with raw materials Austria could also manufacture high class specialties in fancy goods on a large scale. In order to dispose of this surplus of production highly developed trade would again be needed.

To a certain degree the very existence of Austria and Vienna can be assured only by an enormous development of trade and commerce. The foundations for such a development are already laid, since Austria by geographical position appears eminently suited to form a connecting link for the trade between the North and the South, the West and the East of Europe. Then, too, Vienna, beside all kinds of institutions needed for carrying on trade and traffic boasts, in the first instance, banks and other similar organizations, insurance companies, communications, forwarding agents, storehouses, etc. Just after the break-down of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the natural and historical importance of Vienna as an international, financial and commercial

center in Central Europe re-asserted itself and has grown ever since.

When the unhappy War was over, the home trade found itself chiefly occupied with foodstuffs and the necessities of life. Very often speculators caught hold of these valuable articles and raised their price inordinately, despite the most severe preventive measures. This questionable trade, carried on as it is chiefly by foreigners, injures the reliable, old-established indigenous merchants as well as the population, the economic life and the currency; but it will doubtless cease immediately when necessities of life can be thrown into the markets in sufficient quantities.

The weekly markets in the larger towns, the cattle markets and the trade carried on by hucksters are important for home trade. Owing to the difficulties of communication, markets and fairs have gained in importance. In Vienna regular public sales by auction of objects of art, articles manufactured by the arts and crafts, and antiques are held. At the public pawn broker's office and repository (Versatz und Verwahramt Dorotheum) new and second-hand goods are sold by auction almost daily.

Most of the commerce between the Succession States and Austria-Hungary is actually or financially carried on through the intermediary of Vienna. If the Allied Powers really mean to keep up the independence of Austria and Vienna, they can achieve this only by granting correspondingly *high credits*, in order to pay up Austrian

currency, and by promoting Austria's manufactures and trade to the utmost. Unfortunately, Austrian trade is much hampered by various measures adopted by neighboring countries, whereas, perhaps, if these countries were to study their own interests, they would guard the independence of Austria.

Three great valleys following the main direction of the mountain range and four side valleys in the Alps, all of which are traversed by railway lines, form the natural network of traffic for the trade of Austria. From west to east the Danube forms the important line of commercial communication, but it is far from having been properly utilized because Austria could not command the necessary funds for enlarging the ports of Vienna, Korneuburg and Linz on the Danube and stimulating the traffic.

Next to Vienna the most important commercial centers are Graz, Innsbruck, Linz, Salzburg, Klagenfurt, Bregenz, Villach, Wiener-Neustadt, St. Pölten, Baden, Steyr, Wels, Krems.

The most important articles of Austrian trade are at present as follows: wood and wooden articles, iron, and iron mongery, paper and paper goods, (stationery), machinery, apparatus, textile fabrics, clothes, grain, leguminous plants, flour, vegetables, fats, fuel, chemical products, mechanical instruments, watches, leather and fancy goods and the so-called "Viennese articles"—ready-made clothes, furniture, cars and carriages, leather goods, articles for smokers, works of art, articles produced by the arts and crafts and cigarette paper.

The imports arranged according to quantity comprise: coal, coke, grain, vegetables and vegetable products, sugar, all kinds of foodstuffs, iron and iron mongery, stone-, china- and glassware, pottery, minerals, mineral oils, raw materials for textiles, chemi-

cals, machinery and apparatus, salt, raw materials and other materials used in manufacture.

The principal articles for export arranged according to quantity are: wood and wooden articles, minerals, especially magnesite, graphite, lime, stones, ores, talcum, iron, and iron mongery, offal, paper and stationery, vegetables and fruit, machinery, apparatus, wearing apparel, cars, chemicals, books, works of art, glass- and chinaware.

Three-quarters of the total imports consist of coal and coke, grain, leguminous plants, rice and flour. Sugar and other foodstuffs rank next. It is most satisfactory to state the increased import of industrial raw materials particularly cotton, wool, hemp, jute, hides, skins, tanning materials, India rubber, leather, iron, raw metal, together with a decrease in the importation of their manufactured articles. The rising importation of manure salts and other manure is also a matter of satisfaction. The increased export is in the first place to be attributed to the greater exportation of wood, metal, ores, magnesite, and further to that of cotton fabrics, woolen materials, hats and umbrellas, ready-made clothes, stationery, India rubber goods, shoes, furniture and other wooden articles, cement, hardware, colors, soaps, and chemicals (especially vitriol of copper).

More than half of the imports come from Germany, one-fourth from Czecho-Slovakia, whereas one-fourth of the exported goods go to Italy, one-fourth to Czecho-Slovakia, and smaller fractions to Germany, Hungary, Switzerland, Jugo-Slavia and Poland. Unfortunately, the large Viennese trade with the western countries, with Russia and countries overseas, which had been flourishing before the War, could not be resumed to such an extent as to ensure even the most precarious existence for Austria and Vienna.

The transit trade is very considerable in all sorts of fuel, cotton yarn and cotton fabrics, apparatus, salt, foodstuffs, sugar, minerals, iron and hardwares, chemicals, beverages, wool and woolen goods, ready-made clothing, stationery, glass-, china- and earthenware, cars, mechanical instruments, watches, matches, candles, soaps and offal.

Whereas in 1919 the import came up to scarcely 40 millions kronen and the export scarcely to 10 millions kronen, the import rose to 14.5 millions kronen during the first quarter of 1921 against 11.4 millions during the corresponding period of 1920. The export rose from 1.9 millions kronen in the first quarter of 1920 to 3.8 millions in the first quarter of 1921. The import showed an increase of 28, the export, of 100 per cent. But unfortunately the export continues to form only one-fourth of the import, whereas for the sake of her mere existence Austria ought to export much more than she imports.

Only the exceedingly large finishing up trade, for which America, England, France, Italy, Belgium and the Succession States of Austria-Hungary should allow her credits and raw materials to facilitate the selling of the finished articles in their own commercial centers, may help to save Austria from utter ruin in which Europe and the

overseas countries would be involved to a much higher degree than it can be imagined at present.

Vienna's innate vitality has so far stood the severest tests very well indeed, despite all pessimistic prophecies, and the Capital has developed into a center of trade and commerce for Central and Eastern Europe. The most strenuous efforts are being made at present in this heavily afflicted city to arrange a fair on the largest scale.

But a lasting guarantee for the existence of Vienna can be found only in its development into a center of transit, with a transit port on the Danube, as many transit storehouses as possible and other institutions for transit trade. During the Great War, Vienna received the fugitives of foreign nationality from the North, the East and the South with great hospitality. It has preserved peace and order in spite of the severest sufferings and the greatest shortage of food. These facts, alone, would make it particularly adapted as a centre for international trade and commerce and as the meeting place for international commissions. Foreign capitalists wishing to invest their money would find in Vienna many opportunities, that bid fair to pay rich interests and gradually develop into an excellent and lasting business.

## CHAPTER XI

### The Customs Policy of the Republic of Austria

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**T**HE trade and customs policy of the Republic of Austria is founded mainly on the following principles:

1. The customs tariff of former Austria-Hungary, dated February 13,

1906. This tariff has undergone numerous modifications, *i.e.*, reductions or partial alterations through the commerce treaties of Austria-Hungary concluded in the meantime. The



customs duties fixed by those treaties are still in force, though quite a number of the countries concerned have themselves put an end to the treaties either by considering them a consequence of the war or by revoking them. These tariffs have been maintained by decrees of the former government, dated October 6, 1914, and February 14, 1918, in the interests of the consumers. In respect to those foodstuffs that are of particular importance as exports from Italy, such as dried fruits, olive-oil, etc., article 223 of the Treaty of St. Germain provides for the maintenance of the tariff until December 16, 1922.

2. Numerous reductions of and exemptions from duties dating from the time of the great war. These were intended to facilitate the supply of certain commodities which had become scarce by reason of the war, *i.e.*, foodstuffs, raw materials, semi-manufactured foods, cattle for farming and slaughtering, fish, meat, cereals, rice, legumes, flour, malt, fruit, vegetables, Italian pastes, food yeast, sugar, molasses, butter, artificial butter and margarine, cheese, various animal fats, condensed milk, raps, lead, alloys of lead and starch.

3. Maintenance by the Republic of Austria not only of these duty exemptions and reductions of war time, but, the economic situation getting worse, further exemptions and reductions of import duties. The exemptions in force in the summer of 1921 included the duties on the following: chicory (for making coffee-surrogates), certain coal tar oils, art prints and chromo-pasteboard, paper for art prints and chromo paper, raw-tanned goat and sheep skins, cement, sheet iron, iron plates and hammered iron, certain kinds of iron rolled into wire, rails and materials for fixing rails, certain goods of not malleable iron and certain goods of malleable iron. The sole export-

duty *i.e.*, that on raps, was considerably reduced.

4. The depreciation of Austrian currency which caused the payment in gold of the customs duties as fixed by a decree of February 13, 1906, to become, even during the war, a problem rather difficult to solve. (In October, 1918 the quotation of the Austrian krone was 40 Swiss centimes, against 105 in June, 1914.) Already during the last period of the monarchical system, the government had tried to make up for the currency depreciation in decreeing on September 18, 1918, an augmentation of the customs rates by 150 per cent in case the latter were paid in paper kronen. As the Austrian exchange was continually declining till it had reached the level of not more than one centime, and the distress of the state finances was going from bad to worse, the Republic of Austria was forced considerably to raise these additional duties from time to time. According to the last decree, dated April 24, 1921, the customs rates have to be multiplied by 100 when paid in paper money. For some groceries, as dried fruit, alcoholic drinks, dainties, textiles, millinery, clothing, precious metals and jewelry, gold watches, perfumery, cosmetics, the coefficient of augmentation is 130. The government terms these goods "luxuries" the import of which by the impoverished Austrian Republic should be prohibited or should at least support high duties.

5. The fact that in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the temporary duty-free import for reexportation after refining the raw materials was subject to the proof of export of manufactured goods and much limited. It was further bound to the proof of identity. But few exemptions based on the privilege of the "equivalent principle" were granted. This reexportation was treated with much more liberality by

the Republican government of Austria.

A similar spirit of liberality is displayed in the new customs administration law of June 6, 1920. This law contains the most extensive concessions to meet the requirements of the export manufactures regarding the regulation of the refining trade. Among other things, it subjects the decisions of the customs authorities, to a considerable extent, to the administrative jurisdiction, similar to an old established practice in Anglo-Saxon countries. Reexportation of late has also helped the export industries to overcome the difficulties caused by the import and export prohibitions of post-war time. The facilities offered to exportation by the finishing up trade mentioned, serve also the purposes of a new kind of reexportation trade, which plays a prominent rôle in Austria as well as in other countries, which have enjoyed but small credit abroad since the year 1919. This reexport trade concerns the duty-free raw materials and semi-manufactured goods, and is understood to procure credits to the export industries for the purchase of raw materials in foreign countries with an appreciated currency. In return, the creditors have a specially guaranteed hold on the raw materials during the process of manufacture, on the goods made out of them and on the foreign values that are received for them.

6. A preference of the Republic of Austria from its very beginning to pursue a policy of free trade. Its capital, Vienna, being far too large for so small a country, it was quite natural that the Republic should in the first place try to meet the needs of the transit and finishing up trade. But in view of the not over-friendly attitude of some of her neighbors and the Succession States, especially the Czecho-Slovakian Republic and to some extent also Jugo-Slavia, the

Austrian Government had to content itself with issuing provisional compensations or, at most, "contingent" treaties during the first year or two after the Armistice. Moreover when these treaties, as far as they were favorable for Austria, were not observed by her neighbors (especially Czecho-Slovakia), impoverished Austria lacking the most important foodstuffs and raw materials and totally disarmed was economically and politically too weak to oppose herself to their breach. This situation became still more aggravated when on June 16, 1920, the Treaty of St. Germain came into force. This treaty obliged the Republic of Austria to accord the clause of the most favored nation to all Allied Powers (including the Succession States, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Hungary and Roumania) in respect to commerce, customs policy and personal rights. No reciprocity being stipulated, Austria has no means to fight a tariff war, even if ever so much wronged by any one of the Allied Powers.

The situation of the Austrian Republic was to some extent improved when the growing international commercial crisis in the world's market, which began in the second half of the year 1920, strengthened the position of the buyer in respect to the seller. The commerce treaties which she concluded with her principal neighbors and with the Succession States are again more like the pre-war treaties. The trade with remote countries, especially the oversea trade which had been interrupted by the War, has gradually revived.

#### PLANS FOR ENLARGING CUSTOMS BOUNDARIES

Ever since the proclamation of the Republic, plans have been under consideration tending to amalgamate the

territories now forming the Republic of Austria with some larger economic unit, with one custom boundary in common. One of these plans, which has, however, found but few adherents, their number constantly decreasing, aims at the re-union into one homogeneous economic whole of those parts that formerly constituted the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy or, failing this, of at least its central provinces, comprising the republics of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary.

Aside from some smaller obstacles, this plan failed for the following reasons: the desire of Czecho-Slovakia to make Prague the political and economic capital of Central Europe; the deterioration which the Treaty of St. Germain has produced in the commercial and financial position of Austria, which would involve Czecho-Slovakia, also, in case of a tariff union; the divergence of the rates of exchange of the three countries, which would be a heavy burden to Czecho-Slovakia and a benefit to Austria and Hungary; the differences between Austria and Hungary on the question of the "Burgenland" (Western Hungary) and the contrast of the royalist-aristocratic trend of Hungary and the re-

publican-democratic trend of Austria.

Therefore, from the very beginning, the vast majority of the population has most energetically embraced the other plan. After this plan, Austria being in its present shape almost entirely inhabited by a population speaking and feeling German, would be united, at least economically, with Germany. Beside the argument of nationality there is an economic consideration, too, which speaks in favor of the union with Germany. Heavy as may be the burden imposed upon Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, the situation of this country may be termed brilliant when compared with that of the Austrian Republic. Further, Germany has always shown a very friendly attitude in respect to all questions of commerce and tariff policy ever since the autumn of 1918, and German capitalists have invested large sums in Austrian enterprises, especially in the iron industry in the North of Styria.

It is highly desirable that a feasible plan shall soon be adopted, for the economic situation of the country, lacking the most necessary natural resources and burdened with too large a capital city, still continues very unsettled.

## CHAPTER XII

### Social Policy in the Republic of Austria

By DR. ANTON HOFFMANN-OSTENHOF

Vienna

**I**N the following pages we propose to try to give a clear picture of the present state of social legislation in Austria as it has developed from the very beginning of the new Republic. Immediately after the War, in November, 1918, Austria was threatened by grave dangers. A multitude of sol-

diers returning from the front and unaccustomed to regular work flooded the country, while the war manufactures had to shut down. Thus there collected a whole army of unemployed, and serious outrages were to be dreaded in view of the excited state of mind of the population. It was therefore one

of the first duties of the newly founded Republic to find a remedy and to enable the unemployed to earn their living. Indeed, a few days later an unemployed payment was created with great financial sacrifices on the part of the government, by which the more serious economic and social disturbances could be avoided. The unemployed payment was at first nothing but a provisional measure to meet emergency; to carry it out, it was necessary to create a complicated new machinery and to institute special agencies for the unemployed. It devolved upon these agencies, in the first place, to procure suitable work for the unemployed who applied to them; if this proved impossible, the unemployed payment was granted out of the public fund, if the applicant had previously been in a situation which made health insurance compulsory. The sum of the unemployed payment was proportional to the daily insurance money, with extra pay for the members of the family.

As the economic situation continued to remain unfavorable, the unemployed payment had to be maintained; but, profiting by experience, it was reduced to a legal basis and transformed from a provisional emergency measure into a lasting institution organized in the form of an insurance against unemployment. Since the new law of 1920, the costs of the unemployed payment are no longer borne exclusively by the government but, according to the principles of insurance, the employers and employees are also compelled to contribute to the payment. While at first allowance was made for a critical situation and an indulgent treatment of the applicants for assistance proved necessary, at present the conditions of unemployed payment are based by law on severer rules and its duration is limited to a certain date within a year. The unemployed payment has also

been extended to all industrial laborers and employes. The amount of the grant is at present fixed in accordance with the daily money paid by the health insurance in case of sickness; the extra pay for the family has been abolished. Decision as to claims to the grant is regulated by law, and abuse of the unemployed payment is provided against by extensive measures of control.

The overstraining of the human working power as practised during the War necessitated a series of legislative measures all of which tend to spare and preserve the physical strength of the population and to protect certain classes of persons particularly in need of protection, against over-exertion.

#### THE EIGHT HOUR DAY

The most important measure to this end is the fixing of the eight hour day. Like the unemployed payment, this measure, long demanded by the laborers, was introduced in the winter of 1918-19 only by way of trial, and limited to the workmen in factories, where it encountered comparatively small difficulties. There, although it was impossible to form any definite opinion owing to the prostration of industrial life, a year after the law had been enacted it was observed that the factories had so far adapted themselves to the eight hour day that its definite institution could be contemplated, the more so as Austria's neighbors had followed the same course. The eight hour day was, accordingly, extended to all enterprises, not only concerning laborers but employes as well, by a law that came into force in the middle of 1920. Under this measure, the working of overtime may be allowed by the authorities to satisfy an increased demand for production. By mutual agreement (*Kollektivvertrag*) the eight hour day may be supplanted by the forty-eight hour week in order to pro-



cure the workers the advantage of a free Saturday afternoon. Exceptions of a general character for certain groups of enterprises may be fixed by the Ministry for Social Administration after having heard a council wherein employers and employed are represented in equal numbers. Such exceptions have been repeatedly granted, especially to meet the requirements of the small industries in the countryside.

The eight hour day was also introduced in the bakeries. The unsanitary conditions in this industry called for a special provision for the workmen. Already during the war when the baking of white rolls and bread were stopped, the customary but much opposed nightwork had been abolished to a certain extent. The bakery law of 1919 gave the prohibition of nightwork a legal form. With regard to the particular danger to health accompanying this work, the employment of baker's apprentices was made subject to medical certificate, establishing the physical qualification of the apprentice. The same precaution is taken in English legislation.

#### INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION

Among the persons most in need of protection we must count the women, juveniles and children. According to the laws now in force, women are not allowed to do regular industrial work during the first six weeks after their confinement. It is forbidden in all industries to employ female workers of any age, or male juveniles of between fourteen and eighteen years of age, in nightwork, between 8 p.m. and five a.m. The night's repose of these persons must amount to at least eleven successive hours. Exceptions beside those necessary to remedy a disturbance in the works or to avoid the loss of material, can be fixed by the Ministry for Social Administration, after

having heard the trade unions of the workers concerned and the associations of the employers, if important economical considerations or the interests of the workers should require them.

Detailed regulations for the protection of children are made by the Children's Employment Law of 1918. This refers to the employment of children, boys and girls below fourteen years of age, in regular remunerative work, even when not separately paid. The employment of children before their twelfth year of age is prohibited altogether except for light work in agriculture or in the household, and even here permitted only after the tenth completed year of age. In certain precarious enterprises and in dangerous lines of work, every kind of child employment is forbidden. As far as it is possible under the law, children must not be impaired in health, bodily or mental development, must not be morally endangered, or prevented from attending school. Also the night's rest of children, their employment on school days and school holidays and their Sunday rest are regulated by this law.

In the mining industry, the employment of children and the nightwork of women and male juveniles are prohibited just the same as in all other industrial undertakings. Juveniles of both sexes under eighteen years may be employed in mines only in such manner as not to injure their bodily development. Women of any age may be employed in mines only during the daytime; women before their confinement only for light work, and not sooner than six weeks after their confinement. Sunday rest is kept in the mining industry in the same manner as in other industrial undertakings.

Already in peace-time the legislative protection of persons employed in home-work in Austria had long been contem-

plated. This problem gained in importance during the war when numerous women were employed as homeworkers in the manufacture of underwear and uniforms for the army. The actual law on working and wages conditions for homework presents itself as a continuation of these endeavors. This regulation is confided to special commissions that, on the whole, have the same task as a board of wages. They fix minimum wages and may issue compulsory decrees regarding labor and delivery conditions. In addition, the law provides measures to prevent economically weak employes from being over-reached by their employers.

During the rush work of war-time it was not always possible to pay the necessary attention to protection of labor with regard to avoidance of accidents in factories. This could be secured only when quieter conditions returned. Connected with it is the reform of the meritorious institution of factory inspection which has existed in Austria since 1883. By a lately promulgated law its domain was much enlarged, so that it now controls not only the industrial undertakings but also the majority of other enterprises, such as banks, theatres, newspapers, homework, children's work, etc. That the inspectors of factories may fulfill their difficult duty, a higher official authority was bestowed on them, giving them the right to make a recommendation in criminal cases concerning the violation of the protection of labor, and the right to dispose independently in order to avoid threatening dangers when measures are necessary for the protection of the life, health and morality of the workers.

#### THE ARBEITERKAMMERN AND BETRIEBSRÄTE

Of the whole social legislature of the democratic Republic of Austria the

democratic principle of the worker's right of determination is most characteristic. This principle is especially realized in two modern institutions: the *Arbeiterkammern* (workmen's chambers), and the *Betriebsräte* (workmen's councils). In the *Arbeiterkammern* the workers and employes secure a representation of their economic interests organized by legislature. Heretofore, only employers had possessed such representation in the Chambers of Industry and Commerce. The *Arbeiterkammern* are organized in analogy to the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Their members are elected by the workers and employes. Their task is, particularly, to give reports, memoranda, and proposals concerning the regulation and protection of labor, workers' insurance and aid for workers, to the authorities and legislative corporations for use in the making of labor statistics, welfare work, etc.

The institution of the *Betriebsräte*, or workmen's councils, is regulated by a law in force since the middle of 1919. With the experience acquired since that time it may be said that the fears of this new institution expressed by some quarters were unfounded. The *Betriebsräte*, which it is well to discriminate from the so-called *Arbeiterräte*, promise to become a useful intermediary between the employer and the employed. Fulfilment of this promise has been facilitated by the fact that their domain has been strictly circumscribed by law, and that in the event of the springing up of controversies, their decision has been referred to special boards, *Eini-gungsämter*, which are composed of equal parts of employers and employed, and are presided over by an impartial jurisdictional official. *Betriebsräte* must be elected in all factories and other enterprises with at least twenty workmen or employes. The number of the members of the *Betriebsräte* varies

according to the number of the persons belonging to the enterprise; the elections are to be made according to the principle of proportional elections. The Betriebsräte have to further the economic and social welfare of the employed. It is their task to execute the collective agreements, to control their execution, to introduce new ones after an understanding with the trade unions, to control the execution and observation of legislative prescriptions on workmen insurance, factory health, prevention of accidents, to inform the controlling authorities if necessary, to see that discipline is kept in the factory, etc. The Betriebsräte can be dismissed only if a legal reason exists, for such dismissal, and then, only with the consent of the Einigungsamt.

These Einigungsämter, beside attending to the tasks above mentioned, practise as *Friedensrichter*, (justices of peace), in the settlement of controversies springing out of conditions of labor, and can, if a friendly settlement is not established, pronounce an award which is legally executable, if the parties submit to it. Furthermore, they are registering boards for collective agreements. The system of collective agreements which is in use in nearly all branches of industry is registered at the Einigungsamt and published by it. The Einigungsamt can also extend the prescriptions of a collective agreement having gained preponderate importance to other labor contracts which are similar to those regulated by the collective agreement.

#### GENERAL SOCIAL MEASURES

Beside the workers and their employes the clerks have also succeeded in securing social improvements. In the period at the end of the war, they were protected against the loss of their positions by the prohibition of dismissal through employers. Later on, this

prohibition was limited and dismissal allowed under certain conditions, especially against the grant of a compensation. Finally, the whole legislation concerning clerical employes was regulated by a new law. This law perpetuates the prescription that the employe, who leaves his place through no fault of his own, after having held his position for some time, has the right to a compensation. Also the regulations concerning the consequences of unfounded dismissal, the terms of said dismissal, the receipt of salaries during sickness, confinement and leave of absence, give many advantages to the employes. A special law regulates paid leave for industrial workers who have a claim to from one to two weeks leave every year.

To the classes which get a modern social protection belong also the house-servants, including governesses, private tutors, etc. To these persons a limit of the daily working hours, pauses for rest, free going out, yearly leave, assistance in the case of illness have been secured by law. Also the sickness and accident insurance has been extended to the house-servants.

On the whole, it is planned to extend the sickness and accident insurance to persons who earn their living independently, *i.e.*, especially to the workers in agriculture and forestry who have been excluded until now. Of particular importance is the creation of an old age and invalidity insurance, very much in demand for some time by the working classes, which, too, it is planned shall presently be extended to all dependently working persons.

For the state officials who are particularly involved by the present situation and whose salaries cannot in consequence of the sad state of public finances keep pace with the huge increase of prices, a new kind of assist-

ance has been instituted by a special sickness insurance.

#### NATIONALIZATION LAWS

The much discussed problem of nationalization has also occupied the Austrian legislation. The laws relating to public welfare provide appropriation of economic enterprises for the benefit of public corporations (state, province, municipality), which shall be executed with full compensation of the proprietor according to a well regulated procedure. Provision is made, furthermore, for the creation of *Gemeinwirtschaftliche* institutions, a kind of syndicalism, founded by the state, province or municipality and intended either for transferring private or public enterprises to the property or administration of such *gemeinwirtschaftliche* institutions or for creating new enterprises in this form. The net return of these institutions is divided between the founding corporation and its workers and em-

ployes, the share of the employees being allowed to reach one-fourth of the return.

With the exception of some few and very moderate attempts to transfer public or state enterprises to *gemeinwirtschaftliche* institutions, a realization of these legislative regulations has not yet taken place. It is quite certain that it is impossible to realize this plan to a greater extent under the prevailing difficulties.

This short enumeration of the most important measures, may prove how active the Austrian legislature has been in the last years with regard to social policy, and may serve to show what social progress has been made. That all these manifold innovations, decisive in the development of the economic life could, on the whole, be introduced without any greater troubles, gives evidence of the sound judgment of all classes and persons concerned, and permits a hope of the best for the future.

## CHAPTER XIII

### Government Organization for Social Aid in Austria

By DR. ROBERT BARTSCH

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IN the following article, we propose to speak entirely of juvenile aid, aid for disabled soldiers, their widows and orphans, and poor relief, since the other provisions of government organization for social help are to be dealt with in special chapters.

#### JUVENILE AID

For many centuries past it has devolved upon the Austrian courts of justice to appoint and control guardians for children who are deprived of

the legitimate guardianship of a father. The courts of justice also exercise a far-reaching right of control over the father's. They limit his power and proffer assistance even against the will of father or guardian. This jurisdictional care for juveniles has quite recently been given a wider compass by the law of 1919. This new law concerning juvenile courts decrees their jurisdiction exercised over persons under eighteen years of age to be joint with the jurisdiction of the



courts of wards, exercised over all juveniles in need of help, particularly over all waifs and strays or ill-treated children and those in moral danger from their surroundings; it gives them, also, the right to settle the abode of children sprung from various unions on the part of their parents.

The most serious defect of the old system was the inefficiency of guardians. These were chosen individually, and the acceptance of the appointment formed part of their duties as citizens. Women were excluded from this office up to 1914. The foundation of orphans' councils (*Waisenratsvereine*) intended to assist the courts of justice in the control of guardians, did not effect a change for the better. A new and promising departure has lately been made in an official guardianship (*Berufsvormundschaft*) which was recognized by the civil code in 1914.

#### OFFICIAL GUARDIANSHIP

This official guardianship, is exercised by the headmasters of boarding schools over the children under their charge, and, further, by societies and public juvenile boards (*Jugendämter*). The societies and juvenile boards are either appointed as guardians by the courts of justice in individual cases, or by virtue of a special jurisdictional authorization, become guardians of all illegitimate children within their domain from the moment of the birth of the child. What makes the official guardianship so valuable is the substitution of a specially trained and officially appointed body of guardians for the frequently incompetent, inexperienced and disloyal individual guardian. Endeavors are being made gradually to extend the official guardianship over all illegitimate children, during the first years of their lives, at least; and, in time, to institute it for

legitimate children where no sufficient guardianship on the part of relatives or friends has been provided for.

The official guardianship is the basis of the juvenile boards which have been introduced into Austria during the last ten years. At first such boards were established by the larger municipalities. Now, beside Vienna, all provincial capitals and some other larger municipalities boast them. The provinces have also set about establishing official guardianships in the countryside which form the basis of the entire organization for public juvenile aid in such districts. Some years ago the juvenile board of Lower Austria had attached official guardianships to all the eighty courts of justice in this province.

The official guardians not only exercise their special guardianship but they render every assistance to the parents and guardians in their districts. One of their principal duties is to see that relatives fulfill their duty in keeping the children, and that illegitimate fathers pay their alimonies regularly.

Infants' aid is closely connected with the official guardianship. It provides advice for mothers and issues propaganda urging mothers to nurse their own babies. This propaganda is effectively supported by the general health insurance and the nursing premiums granted by the sick funds. Thus it became possible in Lower Austria which boasts of nearly two hundred mother's advice councils (*Mutterberatungstellen*), to reduce the infant mortality from 27.81 per cent in 1915, to 13.2 per cent in 1920. The American Red Cross has recently started an efficient movement to extend the mother's advice councils and the medical control, to cover all infants.

In obedience to a law of 1919 all illegitimate, and all legitimate children not living with their parents, are placed

under public control from their birth to their fourteenth year. This control, which provides at the same time for the physical and moral welfare of the children, further makes it compulsory for all persons, other than parents and grandparents, who wish to take children under their charge to obtain a public license. For the education of neglected children and their detention in reformatories, an antiquated law of the year 1885 is still in force. A projected bill for a modern law of education through social aid was recently published by the government.

Added to the official aid of the juvenile boards, which are not spread over the entire country, is the voluntary relief work of societies and institutions. Some of these institutions, particularly foundling hospitals and orphanages, date back to very old times and were founded as charitable organizations. Nearly all the more ancient institutions bear a religious character.

Modern juvenile aid began about 1900, when there was observed the dangerous depravity of the youth of the larger towns. Such relief work received an extraordinary impetus during the War. Numerous societies and institutions, day nurseries, *crèche*, asylums for children, etc., were newly founded. Side by side with the nuns who were the only workers engaged in juvenile aid in former times, numerous secular helpers are now being trained in various private institutions.

The voluntary relief work suffered particularly from the effects of the War, manifested in the depreciation of the capital of charitable institutions and the terrifying decline in the revenue from voluntary contributions. This falling off in contributions is to be explained by the impoverishment of the former benefactors and the undeveloped sense of social duties among the

newly rich. Consequently, voluntary relief work is to a large extent carried on with aid from abroad. Prominent in such aid is the American Children's Relief Work, procuring a meal a day for several hundred thousand children, while the American Red Cross provides clothes, underwear and other materials from its large supply depots.

One branch of relief work, chiefly carried on with aid from abroad, began with a movement to afford children several weeks' stay in a foreign country for the sake of recreation. Its chief object now is to promote the foundation of health resorts in Austria in order to make good, with all possible speed, the harm done by the blockade, such as bad nourishment, tuberculosis and rickets.

The relief work for juveniles after they have finished their schooling is in the hands of voluntary helpers even at the present day. Some of its branches, however, are directed by public boards. We must mention here the organization for advising the young people in choosing a profession (*Berufsberatung*) which has branches in a great number of public boards.

The coöperation of official and private relief work with the courts of justice in the so-called Juvenile Courts' Aid is of great moment. The juvenile courts' law of 1919 authorizes the courts to avail themselves of the assistance of individuals and societies, particularly in investigating the private affairs of minors, in superintending and helping them and rendering them any assistance they may require in court proceedings. A probation control exercised by special probation officers was instituted together with the law referring to conditional sentencing and conditional pardon. The Juvenile Courts' Aid is administered partly by the juvenile courts and partly by benevolent societies. In Vienna it is prac-

tised by a committee representing forty societies with an office of their own at the juvenile court.

#### AID FOR DISABLED SOLDIERS, THEIR WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

Aid for disabled soldiers, their widows and orphans, has been regulated by a law dated April 25, 1919. As far as its structure and technique are concerned, the law is similar to that of insurance against accidents. Whoever has suffered an injury to his health, either through active war service or military action of any kind, has a claim to an indemnity to be paid him out of the public funds. Should his death result from one of the above causes, the claim may be raised by his widow and orphans. In cases of such impaired health, a claim may be brought in for medical treatment to restore the victim to health as far as possible, and to enable him to earn his living; or for obtaining artificial limbs and orthopedic appliances; or for training in some new profession in order to replace the old, or to increase the reduced capacity for making a living.

The claimant is further entitled to receive a monetary support during the term of his medical treatment or professional training and to an invalid's rent as long as his working powers continue to be considerably reduced. The invalid's rent is computed with due regard to the claimant's previous training and the place of his abode. Allowance is made for the prevailing dearth of houses. Besides, the claimant's regular income made during his civilian occupation up to the time of his accident is also taken into account. The rent calculated in this manner is paid entire in the case of the claimant's complete incapacity to earn his living. If his capacity to earn his bread, only, is reduced, a larger or smaller fraction of the full rent is al-

lowed in proportion to this reduction.

A claim to the widows' and orphans' rent may be raised by the widow—in some cases, even a woman with whom the deceased has set up house-keeping without being joined to her in a lawful wedlock—by legitimate and illegitimate children, by parents, grandparents, and brothers and sisters if the latter are orphans. The rent allowed them forms a fraction of the full rent granted to the directly injured claimant. The relations also receive "burial money."

For the calculation of the rents and the enforcement of the law, disabled soldiers' indemnity commissions have been instituted in those provinces in which the organizations of aid for disabled soldiers, their widows and orphans, and juvenile aid societies are represented. Their principal duty is to decide about the existence and extent of the claim according to the law. The proceedings are now dragging in the courts owing to the different interests involved.

#### POOR RELIEF

Poor relief in Austria is based on the home law (*Heimatsgesetz*) of 1863. By this law poor relief devolves on the native community. Only in Lower Austria are the communities of one jurisdictional district joined together in so-called "poor districts." Poor relief consists of the grant of the necessities of life, including the costs for sickness, nursing and burial, and of education for the poor under age. Claims on the part of the poor to any special kind of provision are not acknowledged. The poor relief comes into force only where no other kind of help is administered. In the relief of the poor, numerous persons are engaged as volunteers without receiving any pay. In conformity with the poor law, pecuniary aid is the last to be

rendered; nevertheless, it has in the course of time become one of the principal forms of help in the so-called outdoor relief (*offene Armenpflege*). The existing institutions for indoor relief (*geschlossene Armenpflege*), which provides homes for the poor and aged, are not numerous enough to receive all those needing them.

Poor relief varies very much according to the wealth of the supporting community; it is better in the larger towns and bad in the poorer districts of the country side. One particular

drawback is the fact that a person may be received in a community other than that to which his parents belonged only after a ten years' residence. A great number of people, therefore, belong to a different community from the one in which they live.

The public poor relief finds its complement in institutions and societies of voluntary poor relief. At present all these institutions are laboring under a severe serious lack of means as far as they are dependent on voluntary contributions or on a capital income.

## CHAPTER XIV

### The Present State of the Housing Question in Austria

By HEINRICH GOLDEMUND

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STRANGELY enough, though the population of Austria has diminished from 6,279,936 in the year 1910, to 6,057,612 in the year 1920, in all the seven greater towns of the Austrian Republic, but especially in Vienna, there has resulted a severe shortage of vacant apartments.

In the country since the year 1910, the number of inhabitants has shrunk from 3,877,787 to 3,810,667, a comparatively small decrease, whereas in the same length of time the number of the inhabitants of the towns has been reduced from 2,402,176 to 2,246,950. This loss almost exclusively concerns Vienna, its population having been reduced from 2,031,421 in the year 1910 to 1,841,326 in the year 1920, while the other German Austrian towns, such as Graz, Linz, Innsbruck, and Wiener-Neustadt, with the exception of Klagenfurt, show a growth of population. Yet the housing calamity is greatest in Vienna. The diminution of the population in all German

Austria, but especially in Vienna, is compensated by an increase in the number of householders within the territories now comprised in German Austria. Whereas 1,391,230 householders were recorded in 1910, there were 1,444,226 listed in 1920.

The increase of householders is limited to the towns, while a small diminution is noticeable in the country districts. In Vienna alone, the increase of householders amounts to 38,678 while it averages only 14,919 in the other large towns. This increased number of householders which is to be accounted for by the immigration of whole families and the setting-up of house-keeping by numerous young married couples (who were prevented from doing so as long as the War was on), does not meet with an equal increase in the number of flats. As a matter of fact there has been hardly any private mansion building since 1914. If anything, the number of apartments for private families has decreased. Some



have been restored to their former uses, and are now occupied by offices of the government economic control departments, or of newly-founded business and banking concerns.

In Vienna about 52,000 applicants for vacant apartments, among them 18,000 whose claims deserve most urgent attention, have booked their names in the registers of the municipal housing board. In the other greater towns of the Republic we may reckon with an urgent need for from 9,000 to 10,000 dwellings.

In this connection it may be observed that among the working classes the former custom of sub-letting rooms is much less practiced now, whereas the middle classes have taken it up to a wide extent.

#### RENT AND HOUSING LAWS

The great demand for apartments on the one hand, and the total lack of any offer of the same, on the other, entailed the danger of a wild rent speculation, and measures had to be devised to protect the less solvent part of the population against undue raises in the rents and against evictions. It was therefore made compulsory that on evacuation all flats were to be exclusively allotted to the would-be tenants through the intermediary of the municipal housing boards. Moreover, a law for the protection of tenants greatly restricted the right of landlords to give notice at their own free will or to raise the rents, and subjected this right to the control of the newly instituted housing boards. Owing to these measures the rents, contrary to the exorbitant demand of all other commodities and necessities of life, show but a moderate increase, that is, about 50 per cent. At present a raising of the rents corresponding to the diminished purchasing value of the currency is being discussed; nobody, however,

would dare carry it into effect, even by degrees, for fear of arousing great public sentiment.

The fight against the housing calamity throughout all Austrian towns is opposed by the greatest difficulties. The building cost of residential mansions has augmented a hundred-fold over 1914 so that only a similar raising of rents could ensure the sums required to pay for interest and amortization. At such enormous rents, however, flats could find no tenants, great as is the demand.

#### STATE ENCOURAGEMENT OF BUILDING ENTERPRISES

The government and the town councils are endeavoring to encourage private enterprises in house building by granting subsidies, and monetary credits, and by charging themselves with the payment of interest and regular quotas towards redemption. On the building of all houses the revenues of which are too small to allow of the regular payment of interest and redemption quotas, costs called "the lost building expenditure" are allowed.

By a law dated April 15, 1921, a dwelling and colonization fund has been founded, which, through shares taken by the state, by employers and by all workmen who belong to the obligatory sickness, old age insurance and other funds, will provide larger means for social help. The revenue of the fund will amount to about 160 million kronen yearly, which, including the contributions of the municipality and the employers, will suffice for the payment of interest and redemption quotas corresponding to a building capital of about 3 billion kronen. With this sum, which will first have to be raised in cash by the banks and savings banks, could be built from 5,000 to 6,000 small dwellings, consisting of one room and kitchen each, a

number which, compared with the demands for dwellings, described above, would bring but little relief.

Another suggestion to further the building of dwellings by capitalists aims at increasing the building of dwellings

with renting capacities by exemption of such from all taxes. But the hesitation caused by the present condition of the public finances which seems to oppose this particular solution, has not yet been overcome.

## CHAPTER XV

### Criminality in Austria

By DR. WENZEL GLEISPACH

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**C**RIMINALITY and similar aspects of social life are the reverse of the social and economic conditions and the moral character of a nation. When a heavy economic crisis, the dissolution of a great empire and a vast social subversion coincide, criminality must increase and morality decline. So far as the social condition of Austria is concerned, the unfavorable effects of war-time and the issues of both the War and the Revolution are also to be included. Still further ominous to social life were the misuse of army supplies; the enrichment of many persons at the expense of the nation, the numbers of men who had managed to escape the army service and the excess of governmental prescriptions, which often could not be kept and so weakened the fear of infringing governmental authority. Disastrous, too, was the great disillusionment of all who had sacrificed themselves during the War, expecting some reward, and who, when it was over, had only to endure increased distress and heavier burdens.

The collapse of traditional powers and the creation of a young democracy were additional sources of difficulty for the government since the substitution of a democratic republic for a monarchy must inevitably have ill

effects. The case of the Revolution does not afford a special study of criminal law. We can simply state that the abolition of the monarchy and the institution of the republic took place almost without resistance and bloodshed, an adjustment such as has seldom occurred in history. The Revolution, therefore, did not become in Austria, as so often happens, the starting point and the contagious example for blood-shed and violent deeds. But, on the other hand, the Revolution has been hailed, in pardonable error, as liberation from every authority, as the beginning of a time when only rights exist, and not duties or regard for others. This error is pardonable since democracy requires the highest social and national sentiment, while the Austrian has scarcely been educated far enough to become a good citizen. He has received no training from history, for at the collapse of the old Austria its constitutional life was not older than half a century and the participation of the masses much younger still; or from his schooling, for social education is almost totally neglected in the schools.

The error has been further fed and propagated by the Bolshevik agitation and the papers it controls. The seeds of Bolshevism find most fertile

soil in the general economic distress, in which now this group, now that, sees itself threatened by ruin if it does not try to watch its own interest relentlessly.

#### INCREASE IN CRIMINALITY

An effort to describe the present criminality in Austria must renounce, to a great degree, any attempt to give statistical figures as fundamental. Some few official figures suffice to show the increase of criminality. The criminal courts of first instance, now belonging to the Austrian Republic, had in 1916 to deal with 16,000 crimes and offenses; in 1918, with 34,000; in 1919, with 44,000 and in 1920, with 64,000. Figures for the lighter offenses or minor criminality, with which the district courts of law have to deal, that is to say, minor robberies, slight bodily injuries, insults, etc. are neglected, but their increase is at least as great as that of the graver criminal cases.

Attacks upon life and body have not generally increased, and personal security is not threatened to any increased degree; a deplorable increase in brutality is to be seen in the lack of consideration, but it does not end in crimes of brutality. A very large increase is to be stated only in the case of abortion. This had already begun during the War and has to be ascribed, in the first instance, to the economic distress and to the impossibility of bringing up healthy children. At present, also, an increase in immorality and thirst for pleasure play a distinct rôle in Austria's social condition.

#### PROPERTY OFFENSES

The increase of criminality in general has to be ascribed to the increase in offenses against property. Now, as before, armed attacks are seldom, but the primitive forms of attack on other peoples' property, such as theft,

burglary, pocket-picking, theft in the house community and the robbery of transport goods, are particularly frequent. Here, too, the pressure of economic distress is the dominant factor. The freedom from the custom of regular work during the long campaign is another cause; likewise, a wrong conception of the social and economic revolutions and reform projects. As often as a thief attacks other peoples' property to enrich himself he admits the doctrine of private property. But if a revolution proceeds to expel whole classes of the population from their economic obligation, if the common features of "Nationalization" are distorted and used as a means of agitation, and if legislature and administration—justly or not—interfere regardless of existing rights, then, in immature and untrained brains, may easily arise the idea that robbery is an almost authorized way to produce a juster distribution of goods. In such a case there may arise, also, similar confused notions which remove or weaken the restraint against robbery.

This very large increase in property outrages endangers the whole economic life. But already the beginning of an improvement may be acknowledged. The element of distress has been somewhat alleviated by the better state of employment in industry and the smaller number of unemployed, while a wholesome social reaction against robbery has not been wanting. These efforts prove that the majority of the population has remained sound or that many, having become wiser on seeing the damage done, have begun to clear their confused ideas. For the future, all depends upon the question whether the injurious consequences of depreciated currency will not lead to increase of the impulse toward robbery.

## PROFITEERING

Reaction against robbery is the more necessary, as embezzlement and fraud, both offenses of economic life, tend, even under sound conditions, to increase with a more lively intercourse, and therefore must increase in Austria. A still greater danger are the profiteers. The very beginning of the War created an economic situation in the scarcity of and craving for goods, in which simply the lack of a strong social feeling was sufficient to sanction *Preistreiberei*, usurious raise of prices. The post-war situation accentuated this tendency to permit unjust profits. Austria's inability to supply her requirements within her own boundaries, the disturbance of all connections, the isolation of Succession States, the continued depreciation of the currency (interrupted only by a short rise in the rate of exchange) produced a quite aleatoric effect in economic life and rendered it in many businesses, almost, if not quite, impossible to discern the limit of just and unjust prices, of allowed and unallowed profit. The legislation has struggled desperately since 1914 against the nuisance of *Preistreiberei*. Beside *Preistreiberei*, other dealings have been threatened with punishment: *Aufkaufen*, the buying of goods to hold until their prices are raised; *Kettenhandel* the passing of goods through more hands than necessary in order that every vendor of them may make a profit in raising the price; *Schleichhandel*, forbidden trade with goods controlled by the state. These penalties include the heaviest imprisonment and fines up to 10,000 kronen.

This war of legislation, however, cannot be won, since symptoms of economic illness, much as they are to be condemned, cannot be removed by penal laws. Beside the fact that the

social reaction is weak at best, it has against it the difficulties of an organization of consumers, the fear of losing the indispensable purveyors and, finally, a large number of those, who have, themselves, become rich by *Preistreiberei* and similar means and are, in consequence, always ready to pay even extremely high prices. *Preistreiberei*, *Kettenhandel* and speculation with foreign values are typical diseases of such times of decay. Quite as much by taking illicit advantage, they do wrong by undermining business morality, by diverting others from their honorable but less profitable work and tempting them to imitation by bringing forth provoking luxury and debauchery.

## POLITICAL MENACES

Beside the exploitation of economic freedom in an increase of offenses against property, direct attacks upon social freedom are characteristic of the criminality of Austria at the present time. In the struggle of political factions to carry out economic claims or attempts at organization, menaces, on refusal of fulfilment of duty, are used with the utmost lack of consideration and, also, as if they were incontestable, even lawful means. In contrast to the perpetrators of economic offenses an organized multitude is generally the subject here, or a single person only as representative of a group. Open violence occurs but relatively seldom. It is generally not necessary, as the supreme power does not meet opposition by the means of its strength and as the persons menaced lack organization or power to make resistance. If this were not so, many crimes against the government and its agencies would presently ensue. But as the supreme power intercedes only for mediation and when it is itself threatened tries to find a compromise,



very often no hold at all is laid on these attacks upon freedom by criminal jurisdiction and they appear only to a slight extent in the statistics of criminality. But criminal phenomena they are nevertheless. Yet some people do not see them as attacks on freedom, but even consider that freedom itself is protected by them; *i.e.*, the freedom of the group or organization is protected against the menace, which lies in the conduct of the outsiders or the government opposed to their interest. Such attacks have been called manifestations of the birth of a new conscience concerning the law and of a new state of law. We should call this one of the false doctrines appearing in the garment of sophistry, which are also to be encountered in other domains as morality, art, and are typical of our time. Does the law not disown its purpose if it stands always on the side of the stronger?

The condition described is a transition. It leads either to dissolution or to an attempt to equalize without beforehand making use of the means of menace. In this case organizations are formed to bring about compromises. In spite of some threatening and vexing details our way leads in the second direction. Some tendencies toward it are to be observed in legislation and social institutions. Favorable evolution, however, must not be too much tried by the continuance of the crisis or must not be made impossible by an accentuation of the crisis.

Is this huge increase of criminality chronic or sudden criminality? And is it to be ascribed to habitual criminals or to occasional criminals? To be sure the activity of habitual criminality has increased in the Austrian towns, especially in Vienna, at present attracting many international criminals. It must be remembered, too, that a large

part of the fugitives from East Galicia and Bucovina who came during the War to Vienna and other Austrian towns continued to remain there after the War and that many of these strangers live by Kettenhandel, *Schiebungen*, speculations and other dishonest gain. Also even if these persons were condemned by the courts to banishment, the Austrian state would be too weak to actually expell them, especially since the neighboring countries and the native countries of the criminals are opposed. But all this does not suffice to explain the increase of criminality. It must be admitted that an increasing number of hitherto honest persons have fallen into crime. This fact and the heavy criminal taint on the youth of Austria are the most menacing phenomena. Next to them stands the heavy increase of prostitution among the female youth which, characteristically, is generally practised only as extra gain. Here is the danger of an ever spreading immorality, a diminution of the fear of crime, and a criminal infection of the population.

#### CRIMINAL LEGISLATION

Criminal legislation and jurisdiction conduct a difficult struggle against the increase of crime. If the security of the person is protected as usual and the security of the property not much more endangered, this safety is to be ascribed in the first instance, particularly in the worst cases, to the successful activity of the criminal police. The criminal courts are not less overburdened as means to handle the arrests are insufficient and the prisons overcrowded. The legislation tried to help as much as possible. It introduced *Schöffengerichte*, juries with two elected professional judges and two laymen judges, for all crimes and offenses which do not come before the

courts in consequence of their particular gravity or political character. In this manner the social reaction has with great success been brought to help the criminal jurisdiction. All smaller crimes and offenses can be judged summarily by a single judge (up to one year of imprisonment). Attempts are made to spare the criminal who errs for the first time and the criminal whom it seems possible to improve and to set him up by the probation system, conditional discharge or rehabilitation; and to send him who repeatedly relapses, when the penalty has been payed off, for at most five years, to a workhouse—an approach to indeterminate sentences. All this, however, cannot supply the much needed reform of criminal law and of the prisons, which cannot be put through in consequence of the crisis in public finances.

But even model institutions throughout the whole criminal jurisdiction cannot reduce criminality to a normal degree as long as the pressure of the

economic crisis gives continued impulse to crime, and as long as the steadily depreciated currency allows the unscrupulous to triumph and the honest to perish. Still the majority of the population is sound. What treasure of good qualities it bears, is shown by the resistance which it has opposed till now to the combination of impulses to immorality and criminality described. These qualities are shown, also, in the beginnings of improvement in the criminality, which can be definitely stated, and which, according to observations for the first quarter of 1921, allow the hope that the height of criminality has already been passed. The moral soundness of Austria is further proved by the fact that active Bolshevism, the declaration of violence and crime as forms of government, has (in spite of many attempts by foreign agencies) been unable to take even a provisional hold in the Republic. If Austria is saved financially, the high tide of criminality will at once go down.

## Index

- Agriculture:** area of tillage, 6; cattle breeding, 8; disparity between supply and demand, 7, 8; grain, 7; potato crop, 7. *See Resources.*
- AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY IN THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA, THE PRESENT STATE OF.** Compiled by the Central Board for Protection of the Interests of Agriculture and Forestry, 6-9.
- AUSTRIAN BANKS.** Max Sokal, 34-40.
- AUSTRIA'S TRADE.** Anton Schmid, 51-53.
- Austro-Hungarian Bank:** 28, 30, 31. *See Banks.*
- Banks:** balance sheets of the larger, 38; branch reorganization in new states, 35; dividends, 39; foreign capital and the, 37; foreign exchanges and the, ix, 36-37; increase in nominal capital, 39; inflation in bank notes, v, 32; liquidation forced by Peace Treaty, 31, 32; modern construction and organization of, 36; stock exchange dealings, ix, 35-36.
- BANKS, AUSTRIAN.** Max Sokal, 34-40.
- BARTSCH, ROBERT.** Government Organization for Social Aid in Austria, 61-65.
- Boundaries of Austrian Republic:** 2.
- Capital:** prospects for foreign, in Austria, 15, 37, 47.
- CENTRAL BOARD FOR PROTECTION OF THE INTERESTS OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY.** The Present State of Agriculture and Forestry in the Republic of Austria, 6-9.
- Coal:** conditions in Vienna, viii, 19; dependence on foreign sources of, vii, 15, 18, 42; diminuation in foreign sources of supply, viii, 18-19, 46; effect of, shortage in industries, 48; home output, 17; measures to increase, output, 9, 18; monthly fuel requirements, 17; reduction in output, vi, viii, 16, 17, 18; replacement of, by water power, 11, 13, 15.
- COAL SUPPLY OF AUSTRIA AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1918, THE.** Rudolph Kloss, 16-20.
- Colonization:** 9.
- Commerce:** commercial centers and lines of communication, 52. *See Trade.*
- Credit action, necessity for foreign:** 20, 22, 51, 53.
- Criminality:** criminal legislation, 70; increase in, 67; political menaces, 69; property offenses, 68.
- CRIMINALITY IN AUSTRIA.** Wenzel Gleispach, 67-71.
- Currency:** causes of depreciation, v, vii, 28; consequences of depreciation of, 20, 22, 34, 71; customs duties and, 54; depreciation, 28, 54; depreciation, in Succession States, vii, 28; importance of foreign credit action, to, 20, 22, 51, 53; importance of stabilization, x, 32; necessity for raise in Kronen exchange, 20, 33.
- CURRENCY PROBLEM OF AUSTRIA, THE.** Emanuel H. Vogel, 28-34.
- Customs:** aid of, to finishing-up trade, 47; difficulties due to Treaty of St. Germain, 55; increase in rates, 54; new customs frontiers, ix, 20, 41; plans for enlarging, boundaries, 55; principles of Austria's, policy, 53-55.
- CUSTOMS POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA, THE.** Siegmund Schilder, 53-56.
- Czecho-Slovakia:** vi, vii, 1, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 28, 35, 41, 46, 48, 52, 55, 56. *See Succession States.*
- Employment:** civil service, 22; disparity of wage improvement, x; increase in wages, x; per cent of population employed, vii. *See Social legislation.*
- Export:** articles of, 52; ratio to import, 53; re-exportation, 54; restriction of, viii.
- Finances, public:** budget, 20-21; deficit, 20, 21, 24; expenditures, 21, 22-23; government monopolies and enterprises, 23, 24; national debt, 26; revenue, 21, 24-26.
- FINANCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA, THE PUBLIC.** Emanuel Hugo Vogel, 20-28.
- Forestry:** forest area, 8, 49; riches in, 9, 49; wood export and, 9.
- Fuel:** monthly fuel requirements, 17. *See Coal.*
- Germany:** v, xii, 2, 18, 20, 48, 56.
- GLEISPACH, WENZEL.** Criminality in Austria, 67-71.
- GOLDEMUND, HEINRICH.** The Present State of the Housing Question in Austria, 65-67.
- GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL AID IN AUSTRIA.** Robert Bartsch, 61-65.
- HERTZ, FRIEDRICH.** Present Day Social and Industrial Conditions in Austria, v-xii; The Water Power Question in Austria, 9-16.
- HOFFMANN-OSTENHOF, ANTON.** Social Policy in the Republic of Austria, 56-61.
- Housing question:** decrease in number of apartments, 66; increase in house-holders, 65; rent and housing laws, 66; state encouragement of building enterprises, 66.
- HOUSING QUESTION IN AUSTRIA, THE PRESENT STATE OF THE.** Heinrich Goldemund, 65-67.
- Import:** articles of, 52; burden of, trade on public finances, 20; exemption and reductions in, duty, 54; ratio to export, 53.
- INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA, PRESENT DAY SOCIAL AND.** Friedrich Herz, v-xii.

- Industries:** coal shortage and, 48; industrial protection, 58; nationalization of, 50; pre-war statistics, vi, xii. *See* Manufactures.
- Jugo-Slavia:** vi, vii, viii, ix, 1, 13, 28, 35, 40, 46, 48, 52, 55. *See* Succession States.
- KLOSS, RUDOLPH.** The Coal Supply of Austria after the Revolution of 1918, 16-20.
- League of Nations,** v, x, 20, 31, 30, 33, 51.
- Losses:** in agriculture, vi; in general resources, vi; in industries, vi, 46; in population, 2; in railways, 40; in territory, vi, 2. *See* Treaty of St. Germain.
- Manufactures:** coal shortage and, viii, 48; domestic encouragement of, 48; effects of Treaty of St. Germain upon, 46; foreign aid to, 47; kinds and location, 45; lack of raw materials for, v, 23, 46, 48, 51, 55; of luxuries in Vienna, 46-47. *See* Industries.
- MANUFACTURES OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA, THE.** Siegmund Schilder, 45-51.
- MINISTRY FOR TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC.** Traffic and Transport in Austria, 40-45.
- Poland:** 17, 28, 35, 46, 55. *See* Succession States.
- Population:** classification by language, 1; decrease in, 3, 65; German-speaking, 2; mortality, 4-6; structure of, with respect to age and sex, 5.
- POPULATION OF THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC, THE.** Wilhelm Winkler, 1-6.
- Post,** telegraph and telephone: 44.
- PRESENT DAY SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA.** Friedrich Hertz, v-xii.
- PRESENT STATE OF THE HOUSING QUESTION IN AUSTRIA, THE.** Heinrich Goldemund, 65-67.
- PUBLIC FINANCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA, THE.** Emanuel Hugo Vogel, 20-28.
- Railways:** budget figures for state, 42; electrification projects and, 12, 43; new frontier lines and the, 41; reduction in traffic, 40, 41; salaries and employment, 42; total railway net, 40.
- Rate of exchange:** vii, 20, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37.
- Resources:** dependence on neighboring, viii, xii, 20; lack of raw materials, v, 23, 46, 48, 51, 55; mineral, 49; possibility of maintenance by, vii, xii; restriction of, vi; wood, 49. *See* Forestry.
- Revolution:** xi, 2, 16, 17, 18, 19, 45, 67.
- SCHILDER, SIEGMUND.** The Customs Policy of the Republic of Austria, 53-56; The Manufactures of the Republic of Austria, 45-51.
- SCHMID, ANTON.** Austria's Trade, 51-53.
- Social aid:** juvenile aid, 61-64; poor relief, 64; for soldiers, their widows and orphans, 64.
- SOCIAL AID IN AUSTRIA, GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION FOR.** Robert Bartsch, 61-65.
- Social legislation:** eight hour day, 57; general employment measures, 60; industrial protection, 58-60; unemployed payment, 57. *See* Social aid.
- SOCIAL POLICY IN THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA.** Anton Hoffmann-Ostenhoff, 56-61.
- SOKAL, MAX.** Austrian Banks, 34-40.
- State:** debt, 26; encouragement of building enterprises, 66; measures for social and industrial relief, 57-60; monopolies and enterprises, 23, 24; nationalization policies, 50, 61. *See* Finances, Social aid.
- **Railways:** deficit in budget of, 42; electrification project, 12, 43; extent of, 40; water power survey of, 10. *See* Railways.
- Succession States:** economic seclusion and effects, vii, viii, ix, 16, 20, 32, 35, 41, 46, 48, 52, 53, 55, 56; monetary separation and currency depreciation, vii, 28.
- Tariff:** maintenance of Treaty of St. Germain, 54; reductions and alterations, 53. *See* Customs.
- Taxes:** 24-26, 21.
- Trade:** commercial centers, 52; disproportion between imports and exports, v, 53; finishing-up, 47, 53, 55; importance of, to existence of the Republic, 51; necessity for free, vii, ix, 55; policy of exclusion in Succession States, vii, ix, 52; profiteering, ix, x, 33, 69, 70; revival overseas, 55; transit trade, 53. *See* Commerce, Customs.
- TRADE, AUSTRIA'S.** Anton Schmid, 51-53.
- TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORT IN AUSTRIA.** Compiled by the Ministry for Transport and Traffic, 40-45.
- Transport:** aerial navigation, 45; railways, 40-43; waterways, 44.
- Treaty of St. Germain:** Austrian losses due to, vi, 2, 7, 10, 20, 40, 46; effect on industries, 46; effect on railway traffic, 41; effect on trade and commerce, 54; liquidation forced by, 31, 32; monetary obligations laid upon Austria by, 27; provisions of, for water power development, 15.
- United States:** political disinterestedness, xi; relief measures, v, 6, 63.
- Vienna:** banking and exchange in, 36; coal conditions in, viii, 19; housing question in, 65; manufacture of luxuries in, 46; profiteering and new financial schemes in, ix, x, 33, 69, 70; public sales in, 51; reduction of population in, 3, 65; as trade center and clearing house, ix, xi, 51, 53; water-coal substitution schemes in, 13.
- VOGEL, EMANUEL HUGO.** The Currency Problem of Austria, 28-34; The Public Finances of the Republic of Austria, 20-28.



Water power: coal replacement by, 11, 13, 15; electro-chemical prospects, 11, 16; progress in hydro-electricity, 9, 11; prospects for foreign capital, 15; sources and yields, 10.

— projects: Danube and other, 14-15; electri-

fication project of State Railways Administration, 12, 43; Ybbs station, 13.

WATER POWER QUESTION IN AUSTRIA. Friedrich Hertz, 9-16.

WINKLER, WILHELM. The Population of the Austrian Republic, 1-6.

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Published bi-monthly at Concord, N. H., as required by the Act of August 24, 1912

Name of Stockholder or Owner

Editor, Clyde Lyndon King

Managing Editor (none)

Business Managers (none)

Publisher, American Academy of Political and Social Science,

Post Office Address

39th Street and Woodland Avenue, West Philadelphia, Pa.

15 Depot Street, Concord, N. H.

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